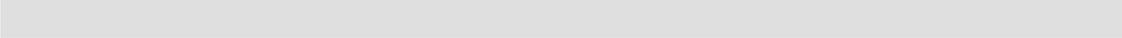# NATO'S MEDITERRANEAN DIALOGUE: PROSPECTS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Thanos P. Dokos

Thanos P. Dokos has a Ph.D. from Cambridge University and has held research posts at the Hessische Stiftung Friedens und Konfliktforschung (1989-90), in Frankfurt and the Center for Science and International Affairs (CSIA) at Harvard University (1990-91). He served as the Director for Research, Strategic Studies Division, Hellenic Ministry of National Defence (1996-98) and as an Advisor on NATO issues to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1998-1999). He was also a NATO research fellow for 1996-98. Since August 1999 he is the Director of Studies at the Hellenic Foundation for European & Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP). His publications include "*Negotiations for a CTBT: 1958-1994*" (University Press of America, 1995), "The Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Mediterranean". *Mediterranean Politics*, Fall 2000; *Turkey's Geostrategic Role in the Post-Cold War Era* (in Greek, 2001), as well as a number of contributions in collective volumes on non-proliferation, Mediterranean security and Greek-Turkish relations.

OUTLINE

Introduction

1. The emerging security environment in the Mediterranean
   a. Characteristics of the post-Cold war and post-September 11 regional security environment

   b. Existing and emerging threats: an assessment
      i. Regional conflicts
      ii. Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction
      iii. Religious extremism
      iv. Migration
      v. The need for political change and economic development: the challenges of globalization and modernization
      vi. Transnational organized crime

   c. The role of extra-regional powers

2. The Alliance's new Strategic Concept and its new role in the Mediterranean
      a. NATO's new role
      b. NATO and the Mediterranean: a threat assessment

3. Multilateral cooperation in the Mediterranean
   a. Regional cooperation in the Mediterranean: Problems and prospects
   b. NATO: A synopsis of activities of the Mediterranean Dialogue
   c. Other cooperation initiatives: EU, WEU, OSCE

4. NATO and the Mediterranean in the 21st century: Future prospects, conclusions and policy recommendations

NATO′S MEDITERRANEAN DIALOGUE: PROSPECTS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

In the post-Cold War period, NATO has ceased to act only as a shield against any external threat, and has assumed the added role of guarantor of stability in Europe. The view in certain quarters is that, in accordance with the Alliance's New Strategic Concept, the Mediterranean area could well become NATO′s new raison d' etre.

The focus of research and analysis for this monograph will be on NATO′s current and future priorities (i.e. interests, threats, and objectives) in the Mediterranean region and the available tools for dealing with the problems at hand. There will be less emphasis on the historical evolution of NATO′s policy towards the Mediterranean, or on the views of NATO members and Mediterranean partners regarding the Mediterranean Dialogue of the Alliance. Since there exists significant research and bibliography on NATO′s Mediterranean Dialogue, this study will synthesize a number of excellent works[1] in an effort to draw a short- and medium-term roadmap for the initiative.

There will also be a brief reference to security developments in the Mediterranean, including regional conflicts, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the full range of "soft" security problems (migration, economic underdevelopment, religious extremism, slow pace of democratization, lack of respect for human rights, transnational organized crime, etc.)

---

[1] More specifically: Ian Lesser, Jerrold Green, Stephen Larrabee, Michele Zanini, *The Future of NATO′s Mediterranean Initiative. Evolution and Next Steps*, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica 2000; Roberto Menotti, *NATO′s Mediterranean Dialogue initiative: Italian Positions, Interests, Perceptions, and the Implications for Italy-U.S. Relations*, Final report, NATO Individual Research Fellowship 1997-1999; Richard Whitman, *Securing Europe′s Southern Flank? A Comparison of NATO, EU and WEU Policies and Objectives*, Final report, NATO Individual Research Fellowship 1997-1999; Gareth Winrow, *The Role of NATO′s Mediterranean Initiative*, Garland Publishing, Inc. New York and London, 2000.

1. The emerging security environment in the Mediterranean

a. Characteristics of the post-Cold war and post-September 11 regional security environment

There is no single, agreed definition of the political and geographic boundaries of the Middle East. Some analysts argue that the most accurate way to describe this highly inclusive region would be to add to the inner core of the Middle East (North Africa, Turkey, Sudan, and the Horn of Africa), the Transcaucasus, west Central Asia and South Asia.[2] Others assert that the demise of the Soviet Union has also resulted in an expansion of the "Greater Middle East" itself, adding the Muslim lands of Central Asia to the region. By "Greater Middle East" one can define the huge area from North Africa through Egypt, Israel and the Tigris-Euphrates valley, through the Persian Gulf region into Turkey and on to the Caspian basin.[3]

For the purposes of this study, however, the Mediterranean will be geographically defined as including all littoral states, but excluding the Balkan states[4] (Albania and the states of former Yugoslavia). Although such a strict geographical definition of the Mediterranean would exclude Jordan, Mauritania and Portugal, these countries are participating, for political reasons, to various Mediterranean cooperation schemes/initiatives.

The Mediterranean is a region where the West in general, and EU countries in particular, have a number of vital interests,[5] including energy security[6] (from

---

[2] Geoffrey Kemp & Robert Harkavy, *Strategic Geography and the Changing Middle East.* Brookings Institution Press. Washington D.C., 1997, p. 15.

[3] Robert Blackwill & Michael Stuermer (eds.), *Allies Divided: Transatlantic Policies for the Greater Middle East,* The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 1997, p. 1.

[4] There appears to be general agreement that the Balkans constitutes a different security sub-system. Indeed, it would be difficult to imagine a connection between crises in the Balkans and tensions in the Southern Mediterranean, as they would stem from different political and security issues (although events in Bosnia-Herzegovina had an impact on Arab/Muslim perceptions). (Roberto Aliboni quoted in Gareth Winrow, *The Role of NATO's Mediterranean Initiative*, Garland Publishing, Inc. New York and London, 2000, p. 4)

[5] According to a WEU report, "The Mediterranean Basin is a high priority for European security. This area merits particular attention from WEU, which has initiated a dialogue on security issues with certain non-WEU Mediterranean countries." (Para 100, WEU Council of Ministers, "*European security: a common concept of the 27 WEU Countries*", Madrid 14 November 1995). More recently, Javier Solana, High Representative for CFSP, pointed out that "...Within the same fold, the countries of the Balkans and the Southern Mediterranean shore deserve our outmost attention, because their political and economic evolution can have serious implications for our prosperity and even for our security." (Speech by Javier Solana, Forschungsinstitut der Deutschen Gesellschaft fur Auswartige Politik, Berlin 14 November 2000)

[6] "Most European countries are largely dependent for their supplies of energy and raw materials on countries whose political and economic stability over the medium term cannot

North Africa and the Persian Gulf, and, in the near future, from the Caspian Basin)[7], regional stability, containment of religious extremism, prevention of mass migration and the protection of Israel[8] and other friendly regimes.[9]

The energy dimension is extremely important. Oil and natural gas is and will continue to be a major factor in regional and international politics. The consensus view suggests that Caspian resources will provide an important new long-term source of energy for world markets[10], although still less significant than other Middle Eastern sources and far from the transforming development that early analyses implied.[11] The U.S. and Europe will continue to depend largely on the Persian Gulf and North Africa for much of their energy supplies.[12]

---

be taken for granted...In the event of a major crisis, the disruption of those supplies is a distinct possibility and maritime transport routes could be vulnerable. The flow of gas and oil to European markets through reliable pipeline and maritime routes hold great political and strategic significance." Paragraph 26, WEU Council of Ministers, "*European security: a common concept of the 27 WEU Countries*", Madrid 14 November 1995

According to a House of Lords report, "The Mediterranean Basin is the source of many intranational and international conflicts, and while it would appear that the EU has little interest in intervening on the ground, few southern Mediterranean states can be regarded as stable." House of Lords, European Union, Ninth Report, 14 March 2001, p. 5.

[7] In the short-term, there is no realistic alternative to Persian Gulf oil to meet increased world supply. Approximately 2/3 of the world's proven oil and 1/3 of its natural gas reserves are situated in the Persian Gulf. If the estimated reserves of the Caspian Basin are added to these figures, the respective percentage for reserves goes higher, perhaps 70% for oil and over 40% for natural gas. For this reason, the "Gulf-Caspian Energy Ellipse" is one of the most significant geostrategic realities of our time. The greater Middle East and its energy resources may now be the strategic fulcrum and prize in the emerging arena of world politics. What is of special relevance are the growing energy needs of Asia, including China, India and Southeast Asia, and the fact that will all have to compete with Europe and North America for greater Middle East energy supplies. (Kemp-Harkavy, pp. xiii & 111)

[8] This is perceived by the U.S. as a vital interest; probably less so for the European states who have adopted a more balanced approach to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

[9] To the above list of interests, one may add the safety of Western civilians living and working in the southern Mediterranean (often in the oil and gas industries).

[10] Developments in the south of the Mediterranean can directly affect the stability and well-being of European members of the Alliance through disruption of energy imports and trade. Much of Europe's and the West's energy supplies are imported from the region: 65% of its oil and natural gas imports pass through the Mediterranean on approximately 3,000 ships daily; 30% of Italy's oil is imported from Libya and 32% of its natural gas from Algeria; France, Germany, Greece, Spain, Turkey and the UK all import oil from Libya, while Algerian natural gas is exported to Belgium, France, Portugal and Spain; 74% of Spain's natural gas needs, 50% of Italy's and 29% of France's were imported from the Maghreb states in 1996. Trade in the other direction amounted to $6 billion in European exports to Algeria in 1996, or 67% of its imports; with 69% of Tunisia's imports, 66% of Libya's and 57% of Morocco's also coming from Europe in 1996. (Nicola de Santis, "The Future of NATO's Mediterranean Initiative", *NATO Review*, Spring 1998, p. 33)

[11] Ian Lesser, *NATO Looks South. New Challenges and New Strategies in the Mediterranean*, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA, 2000, p. 20.

[12] They will however be joined by the likes of China and India that will need to satisfy their growing energy demands and therefore access to these areas will remain a high foreign policy priority. (Stephen Calleya, "Regional Security Challenges in the Mediterranean" in

The West covers a significant share of its energy needs from Middle East and North African sources, and therefore, has a strong incentive for securing the continuous supply of energy products.[13] The critical geopolitical issue affecting the West is whether the Middle East will be a stable supplier of oil and gas exports at market driven prices. This is not easy to predict in a region that has many interregional and internal conflicts, serious economic problems, and major demographic problems. There is concern that even without an immediately discernible threat, an extended period of instability or conflict in oil- or gas-producing regions in North Africa and the Middle East might pose a threat to the energy supplies of Europe. On the other hand, the Middle East is so heavily dependent on the income from energy exports that few –if any— nations will voluntarily limit their export revenues.[14]

It is argued that, with growing levels of European dependence on gas from the southern periphery, it would not be surprising if NATO in the 21st century were compelled to plan for operations to restore the flow of gas from far-flung and unstable regions.[15]

In describing the regional security environment, the following points are worth keeping in mind:

1. As a result of two "cataclysmic" changes, the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Mediterranean, the Middle East and much of their surrounding regions have been placed in the midst of a rapid geopolitical evolution, without, however, a clear direction. There is an "arc or triangle of crisis",[16] extending from the Balkans, to Central Asia/Transcaucasus and the Middle East. Several regimes in the Mediterranean/Middle East are or could be soon faced with a legitimacy crisis (for example: Algeria, Palestinian Authority, Saudi Arabia, etc.). The short- and long-term consequences of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against the US on relations between the EU (and the Western world in general) and the Arab/Islamic world, as well as on perceptions between the two sides, are expected to be far-reaching. However, because of the many uncertainties at this stage of transition, a prognosis of consequences would be extremely difficult and probably premature.

Stephen Blank (ed.), *Mediterranean Security Into the Coming Millenium*, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, PA, 1999, p. 106)

[13] The Mediterranean countries provide 24% of the total EU member state energy imports, 32% of the imports of natural gas, and 27% of oil imports. Europe is linked to supply from the region via the Transmed pipeline carrying Algerian gas to Italy, via Tunisia, and the Maghreb-Europe pipeline to carry Algerian gas, via Morocco, to Spain and Portugal. An electricity interconnection has also been on stream between Morocco and Spain since 1995. (Whitman, p. 26)

[14] Anthony Cordesman, *Transnational Threats from the Middle East: Crying Wolf or Crying Havoc?* Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, PA, 1999, p. 221.

[15] Lesser, p. 21.

[16] Some analysts have used the term "arc of social tension".

2. The area stretching from the Western Sahara to Central Asia and the Gulf, and the Mediterranean itself, contains a sizable number of flashpoints capable of imposing demands on Allied diplomacy and military power.[17] Although the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the future of Iraq stand out as the most important outstanding issues, fluidity, instability, multiple sources of insecurity and continued change and evolution are the predominant characteristics of the Mediterranean security environment. Accordingly, increasing stability in this region should be a high priority for Europe and the U.S.[18]

3. There are diverging views on the strategic unity of the Mediterranean. In this context, is Fernand Braudel's prediction, that "The fate of the whole Mediterranean will be a common one" correct? Does the Mediterranean constitute a single 'regional security complex'[19] or is it actually a matter of overlapping, interwoven regions and security sub-systems, for instance, the Middle East, the Balkans, and Transcaucasus? Given the differences in religion and culture and the diversity of political systems, does it make sense to study the Mediterranean (for purposes of research) as a single entity? Is there a common denominator for the countries in the region, apart from geographical proximity and problems, such as environmental ones, which are common to all?

While a few analysts claim that a regional security complex is emerging, the great majority argues that the region is highly heterogeneous.[20] At a minimum, two regional sub-systems can be identified: Eastern Mediterranean (Mashreq), with predominantly "hard" security problems, and Western

---

[17] Lesser, p. 3.

[18] According to a RAND study, "Traditional distinctions and barriers across the Mediterranean are breaking down and being reshaped by a wide and diverse set of demographic, political and economic forces. European, North African and Middle Eastern security are intersecting in new ways, blurring old strategic distinctions that have guided past policy and creating new challenges for Western policy... The emerging geopolitics of energy supply illustrate how the Middle Eastern and European environments are increasingly interwoven". (R. Asmus, S. Larrabee, I. Lesser, "Mediterranean Security: New Challenges, New Tasks", *NATO Review*, No. 3, May 1996, pp. 25-26)

[19] For an analysis of particular regions, Barry Buzan's methodological approach seems particularly useful. He uses the concept 'regional security complex' -- an empirical phenomenon with historical and geopolitical roots -- which he defines as a group of states whose chief security concerns are so closely linked and interwoven that the problems of national security they face cannot be examined separately, country by country. (Barry Buzan, People, *States and Fear. An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*. New York, 1991, p. 194)

[20] It has been observed that although the Mediterranean may be regarded as a "geographic entity", this did not make the Mediterranean "a political or strategic whole". Other analysts argue that today's Mediterranean may be seen as a vital crossroads open to influences and exchanges, but they also tend to stress that the Mediterranean has become a "frontier" separating different worlds. According to Stephen Calleya, the Mediterranean "is a frontier separating different political, economic, military and cultural forces". (Winrow, p. 3 & 7)

Mediterranean (Maghreb), with "soft" security problems.[21] Still others describe the Mediterranean as a multi-fragmented region.[22]

In any case, it is difficult to examine the Mediterranean, from a security perspective, in complete isolation from developments in the surrounding regions of Transcaucasus/Central Asia, the Balkans, the Black Sea and the Middle East, including the Persian Gulf.

4. The traditional definition of security in military terms (hard security) is inadequate. Economic, social, demographic and environmental problems (soft security) have a considerable impact on national security and political stability.[23] Therefore, a broader concept of security should be adopted. Most security challenges and problems in the Mediterranean are of a non-military nature and therefore cannot be dealt with military means;[24]

5. However, military issues still have a considerable impact on regional stability. The strategic environment on Europe's periphery is characterized by numerous actual and potential flash points for conflict and crises that may demand a Western response.[25] The character of military capabilities, including

---

[21] There is a bifurcation of views within the Alliance on Mediterranean security. For U.S. policy-makers the primary focus is the Eastern Mediterranean. In contrast, European policy-makers focus primarily on the Western Mediterranean. (Richard Whitman, *Securing Europe's Southern Flank? A Comparison of NATO, EU and WEU Policies and Objectives*, Final report, NATO Individual Research Fellowship 1997-1999, p. 6) In the Western Mediterranean "the prosperous Northern littoral faces immigration pressures, and possibly energy supply problems from the South, whose states and societies are confronted by enormous difficulties of economic, social and political development. They are not coping with those, and there will be an impact upon Europe from the internal problems of Morocco, Algeria or Libya". (William Hopkinson, *Enlargement: A New NATO*, Chaillot Papers, WEU Institute for Security Studies, Paris, October 2001, p. 15)

[22] According to Roberto Menotti, "The Mediterranean region is not unitary, let alone cohesive. This is true from the political, economic and cultural points of view. The Mediterranean basin comprises a large number of national actors belonging to various subregional complexes, linked by a series of interacting rivalries, animosities and highly competitive relationships. Of course, alignments and alliances are also present and sometimes well established. In other words, the basin is practically a patchwork of sub-regional complexes showing little coherence". (Roberto Menotti, *NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue initiative: Italian Positions, Interests, Perceptions, and the Implications for Italy-U.S. Relations*, Final report, NATO Individual Research Fellowship 1997-1999, p. 25)

[23] A development recognised explicitly even in NATO's new Strategic Concept. According to Article 21, "The Alliance is committed to a broad approach to security, which recognises the importance of political, economic, social and environmental factors in addition to the indispensable defence dimension."

[24] According to an IFPA study, "At least in the near-term, the majority of the Mediterranean region's security challenges will remain rooted in socio-economic problems ill-suited for NATO to address directly". (Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, *Southern Region Workshop on TMD, Counter-Proliferation Planning and Security Collaboration in the New Era*, November 1995, p. v)

[25] According to former CINCSOUTH, Admiral Lopez, "the next war could grow out of a number of explosive factors: economic difficulties, water shortages, religious fanaticism, immigration, you name it. There are many different forces of instability, and they all seem to

weapons of mass destruction (WMD) (nuclear, biological and chemical weapons) and missiles, on Europe's periphery will be a key strategic issue in the overall evolution of relations between Muslim and Arab states and the West.[26]

6. Most security problems in the Mediterranean will be largely transnational,[27] in the sense that they will affect the security of many states and their resolution will require the co-operation of many states (governments, as well as other societal components). According to one school of thought[28], today and for the foreseeable future, the main sources of friction between the North and the South (and this "friction" would probably manifest itself mainly across the Mediterranean, which is a major "faultline") will be problems of migration, religious extremism (fundamentalism), environmental pollution, trade and raw material issues, lack of democracy and respect for human rights, etc. There is another school of thought (best exemplified by Samuel Huntington's theory on the "Clash of Civilizations"), which argues that Islam constitutes at least as grave a threat to the West as the one posed in the past by communism (see, for instance, the statement of then General Secretary of NATO, Willi Claes, in February 1995).[29]

7. There is consensus among security thinkers and planners in NATO (and the EU) that that the threat to European security in the region is not derived from the malevolent use of state power directed against Western Europe but rather from the partial, or full, collapse of the existing political authorities in the southern and eastern Mediterranean.[30]

In addition to the consequences of September 11, 2001, there is a plethora of recent developments which have, or will have in the near future, a significant

---

be prevalent in the southern region". (William Drozdiak, "Is NATO's Southern Flank Exposed?", *International Herald Tribune*, 20 May 1997)

[26] Ian Lesser & Ashley Tellis, *Strategic Exposure: Proliferation Around the Mediterranean.* RAND, Santa Monica, 1996, p.3.

[27] The transnational dimension of Mediterranean security is becoming more prominent as Europe and the Middle East become more interdependent in political, economic and military terms. (Ian Lesser, Jerrold Green, Stephen Larrabee, Michele Zanini, *The Future of NATO's Mediterranean Initiative. Evolution and Next Steps,* RAND Corporation, Santa Monica 2000, p. 19) Indeed, the north and the south are becoming more interconnected through various economic, social and political ties...However, it is argued that "It is far too early, though, to speak of a "Euro-Mediterranean region". A clearly identifiable Mediterranean region has yet to emerge with its own particular agenda and measure of autonomy". (Winrow, p. 224)

[28] For instance, Joseph Nye, Paul Kennedy, Ian Lesser, Shireen Hunter, Barry Buzan, Bishara Khader, and others.

[29] However, with respect to the danger posed by Moslem fundamentalist movements within the region, NATO apparently has not endorsed the view that Western and Islamic cultures are diametrically opposed and thus destined for conflict. Rather, it was emphasized that "to the extent Islam is seen as a threat, it is only so when it falls to the context of religious extremism and is utilized by radical groups to justify their own respective agendas". (Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, p. V)

[30] Whitman, p. 2.

impact in international and/or regional stability. Such developments include EU and NATO enlargement, EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (ESDP) and the creation of a European Rapid Reaction Force, occasional U.S. flirtations with unilateralism and its impact on the Transatlantic relationship, burden-sharing in the context of NATO and the gap in military capabilities between the two pillars of the Alliance, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, American policy towards Iraq and the future of that country, U.S. relations with Saudi Arabia and Washington's new policy on the "Axis of evil"[31], Russia's new relationship with NATO and the US, new asymmetric threats in NATO's southern flank and general concern about the South as zone of instability in a region of vital interest for the West.

In closing this section, it should be said that the Mediterranean and Southern Europe have in the past fulfilled the roles of both bridge and barrier. Many historians have addressed themselves to the question whether the Mediterranean unites or divides, from a cultural, economic or strategic point of view. The events of recent years have made this question a particularly urgent one. The answer will depend on how relations develop between Europe (and the West as a whole) and the Islamic world, and also on the success of attempts to modernise the Mediterranean South.

## b. Existing and emerging threats: an assessment

There is a long list of problems and existing or potential threats to regional security and stability in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, including:

- the slow or negative economic growth in the southern shore;
- the demographic explosion in many countries and the "threat" of mass migration to European countries;
- the spread of Islamic radicalism (different versions of radicalism/fundamentalism are supported and funded by Saudi Arabia or promoted by Iran);
- the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and of sophisticated conventional weapons;
- the lack of democratization and of respect for human rights;
- the scarcity of water resources;
- transnational organized crime;
- the pollution of the Mediterranean as a potential threat to the economies of Mediterranean states and to the quality of life of their people;
- the continued existence of regional conflicts.

Some of the above problems have a synergistic effect (see diagram 1 below).

---

[31] In his January 2002 State of the Union message, Bush included Iran with North Korea and Iraq as part of the "axis of evil" against which extreme vigilance was required.

MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY: A THEORETICAL MODEL
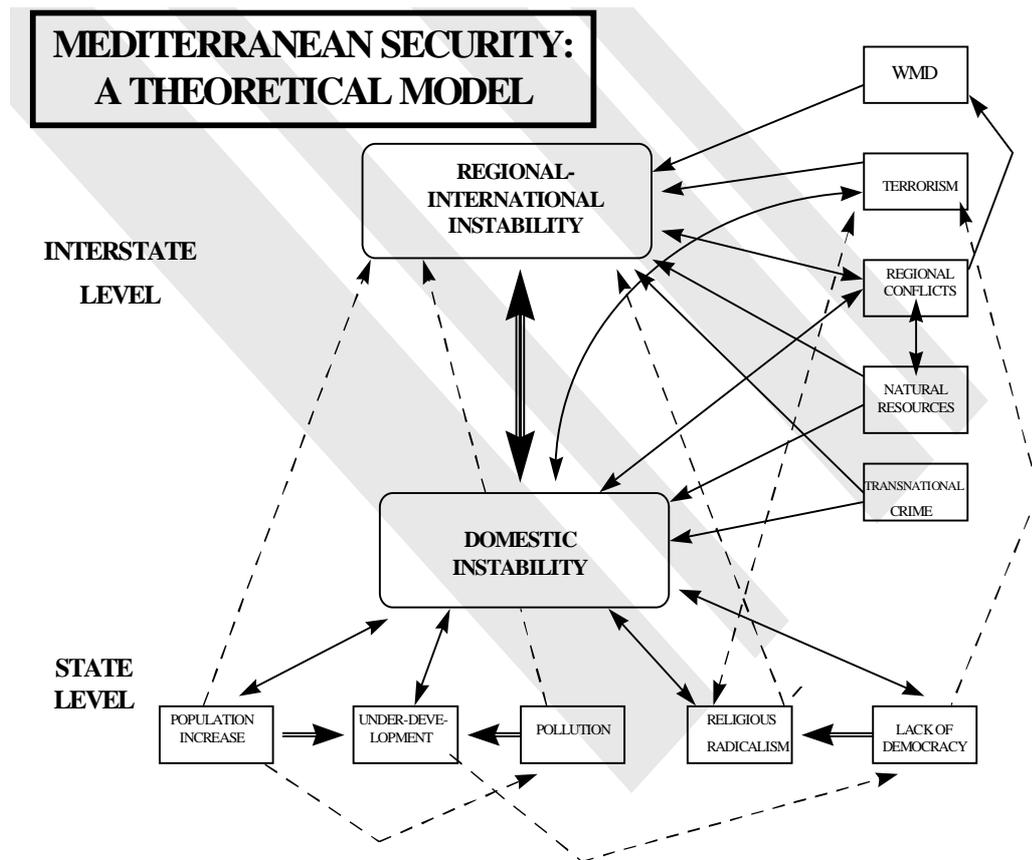
i. Regional conflicts

The Mediterranean basin contains several crises and potential crises capable of producing conventional, cross-border conflicts.[32]

The single most important conflict is the **Israeli-Palestinian** one. Indeed, the latest –since September 2000-- deterioration of relations between Israelis and Palestinians (and the resulting –hopefully temporary-- deadlock in the peace process) is greatly complicating efforts for regional cooperation in the Mediterranean, at both the bilateral and multilateral levels. Many analysts and officials believe that as long as there is no settlement of the Palestinian problem, prospects for multilateral cooperation in the Mediterranean will remain rather poor.

Since the early 1990s, the civil war in **Algeria** has driven concerns about the stability of societies facing demographic, economic, and political pressures across the region, and particularly in the western and central Mediterranean. Algeria in the first half of the 1990s was seen as emblematic of the challenge posed by radical Islamic movements to established regimes. Much violence appears tied to power struggles within the government and the security

---

32 Lesser, p. 26.

establishment, as well as within the Islamist opposition. Vendettas and economic terrorism also appear to play roles.[33]

Greek-Turkish relations have considerably improved. Overall, the two countries are much better off today in terms of bilateral relations than they were two or three years ago. Having said that, it should be emphasized that there has been no progress so far in resolving, or even addressing, the fundamental differences between the two countries (probably intentionally in recognition of the extreme difficulty of the task). This rapprochement –by installments- has had a very low cost as neither side had to give up its vital interests. The next phase, however, will involve a more difficult and complicated undertaking. Much will depend on efforts for a settlement in the Cyprus problem and the Turkish reaction to the recent accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the EU, without prior settlement of the Cyprus conflict. It is safe to assume, however, that the two sides –Greece and Turkey— will try to avoid a spillover of their rivalry into various Mediterranean cooperation fora.[34]

ii. Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction

As "proactive counterproliferation" officially became the central element in the new national security policy of the U.S., counterproliferation actions will constitute a key element of major international conflicts in the first decades of the 21st century.

One of the most important geostrategic phenomena of the past decade has been the extraordinary diffusion of war-making capabilities from the developed North to the developing South. In the eyes of some proliferant states, possessing NBC weapons would not only add to their regional stature, but would also offer an asymmetrical counter to the West's massive superiority in conventional forces.

In the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, a number of countries are assumed to possess varying levels of NBC-weapons capabilities. Reasons for concern include the fact that NBC weapons have been used in the past, the region's geographic proximity to Europe and the vital interests of the West

---

[33] Against this background, policymakers and observers around the Mediterranean focused on the potential for large-scale refugee flows, interruptions of increasingly important flows, and the spillover of radical Islam elsewhere in North Africa. (RAND, 2000, p. 7)

[34] See, for example: Thanos Dokos, "How to Establish Mutual Military and Political Reliability" in M. Aydin & K. Yfantis (eds.), *Escaping from the Security Dilemma in NATO's Southeastern Flank*, Frank Cass Publishers, London 2003; also, Thanos Dokos & Panayotis Tsakonas, "Continuity and Change in Greek-Turkish Relations" in C. Kollias & G. Gulnuk-Senesen (eds.), *Greece and Turkey in the 21st Century: Conflict or Cooperation. The Political Economy Perspective*, forthcoming, 2003.

(which is prepared, under certain circumstances, to use force to protect them), the multiplicity of conflicts and other security problems and the general instability in the region (including the spread of religious extremism).

Proliferation is perceived by the Alliance as both a political and a military threat that could undermine NATO's ability to conduct essential defence missions, both in regional conflicts beyond its borders and in protecting Alliance territory and populations. Although there is no consensus between allies on the immediacy of the problem and the most effective means of response, there is agreement that NATO should act to protect against the growing threat. Such a threat could take any of the following three forms:

(a) threats against Alliance territory where NATO populations would be at risk;

(b) threats to the ability of Alliance members to intervene in regions of vital interest where an NBC-armed adversary could threaten NATO's ability to deploy forces and conduct combat operations; and

(c) threats to missions, such as peacekeeping and humanitarian operations, in which NATO forces would be involved.

(d) NBC terrorism.

iii.   Religious extremism

In a number of Mediterranean countries, there has been an increase in popular support for radical Islamic movements.[35] The possibility that such movements might seize power in various countries in the Mediterranean and the Middle East is a source of concern for a number of Western analysts and officials who see Islam and the West as fundamentally incompatible.[36] Although it is becoming less and less likely that an extremist Islamist movement will take over in a country of the region, Islam remains a very important element of those countries' political, economic, social and cultural systems.[37]

---

[35] After the collapse of communism, the Soviet Empire and the Soviet Union itself, and the start of the process of democratisation in these areas, Islam became perhaps the most powerful transnational force in the world, with more than a billion believers. As already mentioned, Muslims form the majority in 45 countries from Africa to Southeast Asia, while there are numerically important communities in the USA, the former Soviet Union and Western Europe (in the latter, the total number comes to over six million).

[36] For the Western world, which for many years had grown accustomed to a bipolar international system monopolised by U.S.-Soviet rivalry for global influence and domination (a rivalry which in many circles was regarded in a rather Manichean manner as a struggle between 'good' and 'evil'), there was great temptation to invent a new global ideological threat to fill the "threat vacuum" that emerged after the fall of communism.

[37] Islam as a political force in the Muslim world will play an important role in shaping relations between Europe and the southern Mediterranean countries. The Islamist movements are the main opposition to the regimes in the region, and their influence is expected to

The "confrontational" line of thinking is best exemplified by the theories of Harvard professor Samuel Huntington, who argues that culture and cultural identities, which at the broadest level are civilisational identities, are shaping the patterns of cohesion, disintegration and conflict in the post-Cold War world and the most important distinctions among peoples are not ideological, political or economic, but cultural.[38]

It is argued that, "perhaps the greatest challenge facing the West and NATO is how to deal with the role of Islam and nationalism along the Mediterranean littoral. The Mediterranean has long been a centre of conflict –and co-operation—along 'civilisational' lines. The first Cold War was the centuries-long confrontation between the Ottoman Empire and the West. Today, the Islamic factor is playing a key role in the Mediterranean security equation. Not, as some might argue, as a result of an inevitable "Clash of Civilisations", but rather as a leading force for change, perhaps violent change, within key states, and as one among many new cleavages on Europe's periphery."[39]

The majority of analysts and experts disagree with Huntington's analysis. Fouad Ajami, for example, finds Huntington wrong in underestimating the tenacity of modernity and secularism in the Middle East and elsewhere in the Third World, and downplays the threat to the West represented by traditionalist movements in Egypt, Algeria, Iran, Turkey and India, among others. Ajami sees Western values and culture as having been totally and irretrievably internalised in these areas, and further sees Huntington as having underestimated the continuing power of the nation-state.[40] Shireen

increase in the 21st century. The Arab and Mediterranean experience leads to the conclusion that disgruntlement felt by an increasing part of the "marginalised" in developing countries will fuel social conflict which will shape the world in the 21st century.

[38] According to Huntington, "The balance of power among civilisations is shifting: the West is declining in relative influence; Asian civilisations are expanding their economic, military, and political strength; Islam is exploding demographically with destabilising consequences for Muslim countries and their neighbours; and non-Western civilisations generally are reaffirming the value of their own cultures...The West's universalist pretensions increasingly bring it into conflict with other civilisations, most seriously with Islam and China; at the local level fault line wars, largely between Muslims and non-Muslims, generate "kin-country rallying" and the threat of broader escalation. (Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order,* Simon & Schuster, New York, 1996, p. 20-21)

[39] R. Asmus, S. Larrabee, I. Lesser, "Mediterranean Security: New Challenges, New Tasks", *NATO Review*, No. 3, May 1996, p. 28.

[40] According to a RAND study, "It has become fashionable to see political Islam as a key driver of internal and external challenges around the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Islam is indeed likely to be a continuing and significant force in the political evolution of many states in the region, and a factor in foreign and security policy orientations. But it would be unwise to dismiss the power of nationalism as a key motivating factor in the behavior of states, with or without an Islamist component. It is arguable that developments as disparate as the crisis in Algeria and the rise to power of Turkey's Refah Party have been driven as much by nationalism as Islam". (S. Larrabee, J. Green, I. Lesser & M. Zanini, *NATO's Mediterranean Initiative: Policy Issues and Dilemmas*, RAND, Santa Monica, September 1997, p. 6)

MAJOR MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES

	Population (mil.)			Annual Growth Rate		Fertility Rate
COUNTRY	1960	2000	2025	1960-91	1991-2000	2000
GREECE	8,3	10,5	10,2	0,6	0,2	1,4
FRANCE	45,7	58,8	60,8	0,7	0,4	1,8
ITALY	50,2	58,1	56,2	0,5	0,1	1,3
SPAIN	30,5	39,6	40,6	0,8	0,2	1,2
PORTUGAL	8,8	9,9	10,1	0,4	0,1	1,3
Mediterranean North	143,5	176,7	177,9			
MOROCCO	11,6	31,7	47,5	2,6	2,3	3,1
ALGERIA	10,8	32,7	51,8	2,8	2,7	3,3
TUNISIA	4,2	9,8	13,4	2,2	1,9	3,1
LIBYA	1,3	6,4	12,9	4,0	3,4	
EGYPT	25,9	64,8	93,5	2,3	2,1	3,0
TURKEY	27,5	68,2	92,9	2,4	2,0	2,8
SYRIA	6,4	17	34	3,3	3,3	5,5
Mediterranean South	87,7	230,3	346,0			

Source: Human Development Report, World Development Report

Hunter argues that Huntington greatly underestimates the significance of ethnic, linguistic, and other distinctions within a particular civilisational cluster.[41] John Esposito, among others, offers a countering view, insisting that most Islamic movements are not necessarily anti-Western, anti-American or anti-democratic, and that *it is a mistake by Westerners to interpret Islam as a monolith, rather than a complex and diverse realm (*emphasis added*).*[42]

iv. Migration[43]

---

[41] According to some of his detractors, Huntington "conflates ethnicity with civilisation, assuming that all Muslims, for example, are part of a vast ethnic group whose primordial values lead them inevitably to persecute heretics, veil women and establish theocratic regimes. (Shireen Hunter, *The Future of Islam and the West: Clash of Civilizations or Peaceful Coexistence*? Praeger Publishers, Westport, Connecticut, 1998, p. 6)

[42] Kemp-Harkavy, p. 7.

[43] See for example, paragraph 59 of WEU Council of Ministers, "European security: a common concept of the 27 WEU Countries", Madrid 14 November 1995: "Problems associated with uncontrolled or illegal migration have grown considerably in recent years. As such, it has become an issue relevant to European stability and security...
♦ massive displacements of persons in particular as a consequence of internal upheavals or armed conflicts in areas adjacent to our countries
♦ illegal migration can pose a threat to internal security and affect law and order in our societies."
Other analysts, however, are adopting a different view on this matter. According to Alvaro Vasconcelos, "Migration is not a security problem, even in the softer realms, and should indeed be decisively decoupled from security concerns". (Alvaro de Vasconcelos, *Europe's Mediterranean Strategy. An asymmetric equation*, IEEI, 1999, p. 6)

The EU member-states are home to approximately five million immigrants from the Mediterranean non-members, especially from North Africa. Illegal movement of people is greatly facilitated by the proximity of North Africa to Alliance member states: there are only 12 km between the Maghreb and Europe across the Strait of Gibraltar and 150 km between Italy and Tunisia. There are also significant numbers of Iraqi Kurds, Afghans and other immigrants traveling via Turkey and landing into EU territory through Greece's archipelago of islands and its long coastline.

The population in North Africa and the Middle East is projected to double from 240 million in the early 1990s to almost 500 million by the year 2020.[44] There is agreement that demographic pressures of this magnitude are producing relentless urbanisation, social and economic strains, and a steady stream of migrants seeking jobs and social services (a process which starts well to the south of the Maghreb and affects societies on both sides of the Mediterranean).[45] These pressures, together with more visible economic inequalities between "haves" and "have-nots" are also threatening the political stability of states around the Southern Mediterranean.[46]

European analysts have been concerned about the potential for disastrous refugee flows, although to date, there has been little effect on the flow of legal and illegal migrants across the Mediterranean.[47] Migration will remain a central and highly politicized issue for most European countries, mostly for domestic political reasons. The irony is that, given the general aging of European populations, within 25 years, Europe will be significantly labour-short by 56 million workers, according to German demographers, or by one-

---

[44] Winrow, p. 100.

[45] One witnesses the appearance of demographic and technological faultlines on various parts of the planet such as the Mediterranean, the Rio Grande, Central Asia, China -- between the coastal areas and the hinterland between rapidly burgeoning populations, young, poor in resources, capital, and education on the one hand and technologically inventive, demographically stable, and increasingly nervous, rich societies on the other.

 Another aspect of the demographic issue needs very careful attention. Certain societies are becoming extremely "youthful" (60% of the population of Kenya is under the age of 15) and others increasingly geriatric (20% of the population of Sweden is over the age of 65). Demographic growth is dramatically one-sided. At the same time, the wealth of the planet, its capital, scientists and research centres are to be found in countries with slow to zero rate of population increase. In the future, this can only cause severe friction between the 'haves' and 'have-nots'. (Matthew Connelly & Paul Kennedy, "Must It Be the Rest Against the West?" *The Atlantic Monthly*, December 1994, pp. 78-79; Ivan Head, "South-North Dangers", *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1989, pp. 76-78)

[46] Larrabee, Green, Lesser & Zanini (1997), p. 2.

[47] More specifically, there was concern that that the establishment of some form of Islamist government in a particular state in North Africa will trigger a mass migration from that state to Europe or to another neighboring Arab state. It would seem that only the Westernized and wealthy ruling and financial elites would seek to flee the country. Some businessmen would remain in the hope of playing an influential commercial role for the new government. The majority, being the poorer sections of society, would presumably also stay, in the belief that Islam could address their grievances. (Lesser, p. 12; Winrow, p. 103)

third of the labour force, according to French sources. It has been argued that youth from the Maghreb in search of work could compensate for Europe's increasingly aging population.[48] Nonetheless, European states, in the short term, are not prepared to encourage inward migration.[49]

v. The need for political change and economic development: the challenges of globalization and modernization

The slow or negative economic growth in the southern shore of the Mediterranean is at the source of many security problems in that region. The economic problems that governments in North Africa and the Middle East have to confront are serious and manifold. In many cases, the transition from what was largely a state-controlled-and-planned economy to one based more on the free market is proving to be a painful experience (as was the case in Eastern Europe and the Balkans).[50]

To become internationally competitive, the economies of Mediterranean Arab countries will have to distance themselves from government controls and central planning and adopt strategic increases in exports and privatization. Liberalizing the economy in this way will affect the internal political situation in the country (as in the former Soviet Union and China). If the non-oil-producing countries of the Mediterranean and the Middle East do not modernize their economies, they will be marginalized economically, and this will have serious negative consequences both for domestic and regional stability. Existing social divisions will be exacerbated and will be targeted by extremist Islamist groups who will attempt to overthrow the existing order of things, threatening pro-Western regimes.[51]

---

[48] Winrow, p. 101.

[49] George Joffe, "Mediterranean security: The Social, Political and Economic Dimensions" in Simon Serfaty et. al., *Transatlantic Approaches to the Mediterranean. Impact of the New NATO on North and South Perspectives*, CSIS Occasional Reports in European Studies, May 1999, p. 30.

[50] Winrow, p. 97.

[51] The problem of political legitimacy and internal stability will be closely tied to demographic and economic trends across the region. From Morocco to Turkey, attempts at economic reform and the emergence of a more dynamic private sector are widening the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots", with potentially destabilizing consequences. Reforms aimed at promoting longer-term prosperity and encouraging foreign investment may well reinforce stability over the longer-term, but the shorter-term political risks are substantial, especially where dissatisfaction with the existing political order is already widespread. Rising expectations will be difficult to meet and could prove to be a powerful source of political change in countries where the established political class proves incapable of promoting a better distribution of wealth and opportunity. (Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. 7)

There is an almost linear relationship between economic prospects for the future and demographic growth[52], which leads to increased unemployment and immigration (both internal and external). The liberalization of the economy is expected to have a short-, and perhaps medium-term, negative impact on the majority of the population in the countries of the region, increasing social instability. Low living standards are in fact one of the main causes of the rise in the influence of Islamic movements.

There is a serious democratic deficit in almost every country in the south of the Mediterranean. It can be argued, however, that there are signs of a gradual process of democratization in some states in the Middle East and in North Africa. Clearly, the process of democratization is still in its infancy in most instances. As it will be discussed below, this creates a dilemma for Western governments. It has be argued that they should not attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of Arab states in the name of democracy, as this would most probably only result in a popular backlash against the West. [53]

vi.   Transnational organized crime

In the view of an increasing number of experts and government officials, transnational organized crime is a challenge to national sovereignty and a threat to international stability. Narcotics and transnational organized crime are major problems for the West, but the Middle East is only one region supplying drugs. It is all too apparent that drugs are a global commodity, and that less-developed countries will provide an adequate supply of narcotics as long as developed countries pay for them.[54] Europe's drug problem is fuelled in part by narcotics grown in the Middle East or traveling through the region. Some 75% of Europe's hashish comes from Morocco, and 75% of its heroin is smuggled or processed through Turkey along the "Balkan Route".[55] Increased flows of narcotics may be witnessed as failed economies seek any way of increasing exports.

---

[52] Given the rate of demographic growth in southern Mediterranean countries, a constant growth of at least 6-7% will be required in the coming 30 years or so only to maintain current standards of living.

[53] Ruling elites in the Arab world are determined to remain in power. The legitimacy of their rule may be increasingly challenged by public less willing to tolerate economic and social inequalities. There are demands in some quarters for popular participation in decision-making and for politicians to be held more accountable for their actions. Ruling Arab elites are realizing that they must listen to the opinion of their publics. (Winrow, p. 12 & 93)

[54] Cordesman, p. 15.

[55] Cordesman, p. 20.

There are also problems related with (transnational) organized crime[56], including money-laundering activities.[57] It is argued that there is also an important nexus among Mediterranean terrorist activities, drug, women and children trafficking, and transnational crime.[58]

c. The role of extra-regional powers

Since the end of the Cold War the Mediterranean has been in search of a new balance of power. The level and nature of American involvement in the Mediterranean will continue to play an important role in shaping the strategic environment in the region in the next decades. In political terms, although not in geographic, the U.S. is a Mediterranean power, and its political and military presence was not merely a phenomenon born of the circumstances of the Cold War.[59]

The prevailing view among the ranks of American strategic analysts (one adopting Admiral Mahan's way of thinking) is that the Mediterranean is important because of its proximity to crisis regions. The role of the U.S. in the Middle East and the Mediterranean will be one of balance maintenance -- and easy access to the Mediterranean is essential for that purpose (The Mediterranean Sea thus has been restored to its role of 'lifeline' with the Indian Ocean, which it had at the time of the British Empire).[60] There are other views, however, of the region's strategic role.[61] The "power-projection" model views that southern periphery as a logistical anteroom to critical regions beyond the Mediterranean basin –above all, the Gulf and the Caspian.[62]

---

[56] Alessandro Politi, *European Security: The New Transnational Risks*, Chaillot Papers 29, October 1997, WEU Institute for Security Studies, Paris, p. 35.

[57] *Strategic Survey 2001-2002*, IISS, London, 2002, pp. 53-56.

[58] Lesser, p. 25.

[59] John Holmes (ed.), *Maelstrom: The United States, Southern Europe and the Challenges of the Mediterranean*, Cambridge, Mass., 1995, p. 7.

[60] Holmes, p. 219; Graham Fuller & Ian Lesser, *A Sense of Siege. The Geopolitics of Islam and the West*, Boulder, 1995, p. 1.

[61] According to a RAND study, "When senior U.S. policy-makers think of the Mediterranean, they think first and foremost of the Eastern Mediterranean, above all Greece and Turkey as well as the Black Sea region. They also see the Mediterranean as the stepping-stone to both the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. In contrast, European policy-makers, especially in countries like France and Spain, think first and foremost of the Western Mediterranean, especially the Maghreb. This bifurcated view –and the division of labour that has flawed from it— no longer makes sense for either the U.S. and Europe. The European, Middle Eastern, Southwest Asian and even the Central Asian strategic spaces are increasingly beginning to overlap and intersect in new ways, rendering obsolete the traditional compartmentalised view of various sub-regions of the Mediterranean as well as the explicit or implicit division of labour among key countries that had evolved regarding these regions". (R. Asmus, S. Larrabee, I. Lesser, "Mediterranean Security: New Challenges, New Tasks", *NATO Review*, No. 3, May 1996, p. 29)

[62] Lesser, p. 45.

Russia, although not a Mediterranean power by reasons of geography, is attempting to restore and extend political and economic relations with countries of the Mediterranean South and to play a more substantial role there. Although there was concern that a change of leadership in Moscow –a more nationalistic leader-- could lead to increased sales of armaments to the Mediterranean and the Middle East, a more active naval presence and diplomatic involvement in the region, such fears have not been realized with Vladimir Putin. The only serious complaint of the West, concerning Russia's Mediterranean and Middle Eastern policy is about its "nuclear cooperation" with Iran.

The role of the European countries is, of course, of particular importance. The countries of the Mediterranean North -- all member-states of the EU and NATO-- comprise a fairly homogenous group of states with common security structures, a common political culture and cultural identity (although this does not mean that differences or disagreements on various issues do not exist).[63]

For historical and geographic reasons, relations between European countries and the Mediterranean reflect an informal division of labour whereby Spain directs her attention to North-west Africa (Western Sahara, Morocco), Italy focuses on Libya and the Eastern Mediterranean, France on Algeria and the Lebanon, and Greece on Cyprus and Turkey.[64] Historically, France has played the part of intermediary between Western Europe and the Maghreb[65], and greatly influences Northern European perceptions of Mediterranean issues.[66]

In the last years of its existence, the Western European Union has been noticeably active in trying to create a European defence role and it is becoming clear that its principal field of action is the Mediterranean.[67] The military forces being created for the WEU (EUROFORCE and EUROMARFORCE)

---

[63] There is no unified western, European or southern European approach to, and concept of, the Mediterranean (Andres Ortega, "Relations with the Maghreb" in Holmes, p. 43) This state of affairs is likely to continue, with a limited convergence of views on matters of foreign policy. (George Joffe, "Political Institutions and Political Culture in the Mediterranean Region", IAI, 1992, p.1; See, also, Dimitri Constas, "Southern European Countries in the European Community" in Holmes, p. 143-145)

[64] Thanos Veremis in Aliboni, *Southern European Security in the 1990s*, London 1992, p. 33. However, the colonial past of France, Italy and Spain remains a stumbling block to their relations with the Maghreb countries.

[65] Margaret Blunden, "Insecurity in Europe's Southern Flank", *SURVIVAL*, Summer 1994, p. 139.

[66] Furthermore, one must agree with Roberto Aliboni that "neither France nor other Mediterranean European Union member countries can on their own create the necessary climate for smooth, effective co-operation between the North and the South of the Mediterranean. Something of this nature could only come about at the EU level. Drafting a European security policy for the Mediterranean (the 'communiterization' of Mediterranean security problems) would in fact strengthen national security for the southern members of the EU." (Aliboni, p.13)

[67] Graham Fuller & Ian Lesser, *A Sense of Siege: The Geopolitics of Islam and the West*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1995, p. 63.

can be used for humanitarian and rescue missions, peace-keeping operations (including missions to impose peace), and crisis management.[68]

It would also be useful to present briefly what has been decided so far in the context of the CFSP, the agreed tasks and missions of the European Rapid Reaction Force and the timetable for the implementation of those decisions.

At the European Council (Helsinki, 10-11 December 1999) it was decided that "...cooperating voluntarily in EU-led operations, Member states must be able, by 2003, to deploy within 60 days and sustain for at least 1 year military forces of up to 50,000-60,000 persons capable of the full range of Petersberg tasks." There was also a discussion of the strategic context in which the EU's CFSP must operate and it was agreed that "In today's strategic environment, we face new risks such as ethnic and religious conflict, inter- and intra-state competition for scarce resources, environmental damage, population shifts. Europe needs to be able to manage and respond to these, including by intervening to prevent crises escalating into conflicts. This may require operations across the full Petersberg spectrum:

- ♦ humanitarian and rescue tasks;
- ♦ peacekeeping tasks; and,
- ♦ tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking (referred to as peace enforcement by some nations)."

The document also dealt with some key planning assumptions, including the geographical area to be covered. It was agreed that "We should plan on the basis that within the agreed range of missions, the most demanding will occur in and around Europe. Forces should also be available and able to respond to crises world wide, albeit as lesser scale."[69]

At the European Council in Laaken (14-15 December 2001), the EU heads of state agreed that the "eleventh of September has brought a rude awakening. The opposing forces have not gone away: religious fanaticism, ethnic nationalism, racism and terrorism are on the increase, and regional conflicts, poverty and underdevelopment still provide a constant seedbed for them." The EU countries also declared the operational capability of the Common European Security and Defence Policy[70] (problems regarding EU-NATO relations have been resolved in principle).
Another interesting trend is the (relative) strengthening of national capabilities of power projection within the establishment of rapid intervention forces by France, Italy and Spain and, more generally speaking, the air-naval

---

[68] WEU Assembly, *Security in the Mediterranean*, 1993, p. 32.

[69] Annex, European Council, Helsinki, December 4-5, 1999.

[70] According to Stelios Stavridis, there are at least three serious problems for CFSP: (a) all EU defence budgets are on the decline; (b) there is very little chance of a real common European defence procurement policy; (c) a supranationalisation of defence is unlikely. Stelios Stavridis, "Militarising the EU: the Concept of Civilian Power Europe Revisited", *The International Spectator*, Vol.XXXVI, No.4, October-December 2001, p. 97.

orientation and reinforcement of Southern European military doctrines and instruments (e.g. the French, Italian and Spanish carriers). European policies toward military force projection in the Middle East will be largely determined by U.S. strategic choices. The current de facto division of labor –the Americans take the lead in military operations, the Europeans provide qualified support and a minority military contribution—reflects current capabilities; it does not necessarily serve as a guide for future intentions.[71]

Finally, as it will be discussed below, one also needs to address the issue of perceptions regarding the establishment of European military formations, in addition to the psychological consequences of the events of September 11, 2001. A priority task for the EU is to provide detailed, constantly updated information on the reasons for establishing forces such as the European Rapid Reaction Force. Such an exchange of information, to be accompanied by a frank dialogue on proliferation and terrorism issues might also greatly facilitate intelligence and police cooperation to combat terrorism in general (and prevent NBC terrorism).

The Role of Perceptions

The role and significance of perceptions should not be underestimated. According to Alvaro Vasconcelos, "Security perceptions are a decisive component of Mediterranean security in the north-south and south-north direction alike. In the minds of a number of European publics, political Islamism –identified with terrorism, and at its worse confusingly identified with Islam itself –tends to replace the defunct Soviet threat as the number one enemy, potential at its best".[72]

Certain institutional developments since the end of the Cold War -- the strengthening of the WEU –now merged with the EU--, the activities of the OSCE, the expansion of the EU, the creation of the North Atlantic Co-operation Council (NACC) and movements towards a CFSP[73] have strengthened the impression of the Mediterranean South slowly and systematically being isolated and excluded.[74] On a conceptual level, the aims of these organizations have been perceived by some analysts as coinciding with a divisive cultural line (according to Huntington). On a more practical

---

[71] Francois Heisbourg, "The United States, Europe and Military Force Projection" in Blackwill and Sturmer, p. 291.

[72] Vasconcelos, p. 3.

[73] Indeed, the process of change and adjustment of the Western/European security organizations is regularly monitored by Arab governments and analysts. (Roberto Aliboni, *Security Cooperation in the Mediterranean: Perceptions and Notions in Mediterranean and Arab Countries*, Conference organized by IEEI on "Building the Euro-American partnership in the Mediterranean", Oporto, 22-23 June 1998, p. 3)

[74] As Edgard Pisani, President of the Institute of the Arabic World has stated, "While Europe is being unified, the Mediterranean is being fragmented, and while we are drawn by Eastern Europe, we sense the South as a threat". (Azzouz Kerdoun, *La Securite en Mediterranee*, Paris, 1995, pp. 154-155)

level, European investments in Central and Eastern Europe have served to increase fears about the marginalisation of North Africa.

NATO suffers from a serious image problem in the Mediterranean Dialogue countries. The general public in those countries views NATO as a Cold War institution in search of a new enemy. An example of misperceptions between the northern and the southern Mediterranean countries is Arab reactions regarding the establishment of EUROFOR & EUROMARFOR.[75] Western (NATO and EU) countries must make it clear to the countries of the Mediterranean that the creation of a CFSP or various military developments inside NATO should not be perceived by these countries as a potential threat.[76] The concerns southern Mediterranean states have been to a certain extent justified.[77]

It should also be emphasized that a uniform and commonly accepted definition of security on the two sides of the Mediterranean is still lacking. The absence of a common political vocabulary and approach to security hinders the progress of a security dialogue with the Mediterranean countries and often contributes to misperceptions and misunderstandings on both sides.[78] Additional work is necessary in this context.[79]

One also needs to understand and address partner countries' perceptions regarding the establishment of NATO military formations or other NATO actions and statements, in addition to the psychological consequences of the

---

[75] When the creation of a rapid reaction force for possible action in North Africa and the Middle East is planned, one should try to imagine how the creation of an equivalent Arab or Islamic force to deal with "emergencies" in Europe would appear to Europeans.

[76] An urgent task for the EU is to provide detailed, constantly updated information on the reasons for establishing forces such as the European Rapid Reaction Force, as well as those answerable to WEU (FAWEU) –such as EUROFOR & EUROMARFOR, formed by France, Italy, Spain and Portugal in the framework of the WEU— which continue to be a source of concern to the countries in the south. As argued in a 1996 WEU Assembly Report, "If these forces are to carry out Petersberg-type missions (humanitarian and rescue tasks, peacekeeping and peace-enforcement missions, prevention of armed conflict, etc.) without excluding military operations under Article V of the modified Brussels Treaty, the southern countries may well speculate as to whether such missions are in anticipation of possible conflict between North and South or, on the contrary, whether the southern countries could benefit from the assistance of these forces should the need arise and even take part in their activities". (Martin Lipkowski, "Security in the Mediterranean Region". Working Paper, Political Committee, Assembly of the WEU, October 1996, p. 28)

[77] WEU, 1993, p. 19. Edward Mortimer, *European Security after the Cold War*, Adelphi Paper No. 271, IISS, London, 1992, p.37. The international system tends by its very nature to cause insecurity and suspicion, and the moment a pattern of hostility is established, each side will view the other as an enemy and will assume the worst about his behaviour. (Barry Buzan, *People, States & Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, 2nd Edition, London, 1991, p. 228)

[78] Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. 84.

[79] Promoting greater understanding of each other's positions and concerns has been one of the main objectives of the Euro-Mediterranean Security Commission (EuroMeSCo), which has provided, since its creation, a forum for the exchange of ideas and arguments on such issues.

events of September 11, 2001. For instance, Secretary-General Claes' statement about a "threat from the south", has influenced the way Arab governments and their peoples view the north. The Arab public, in general, is very suspicious and critical of Europe and the U.S.[80] and suspects that the West is seeking to interfere in the internal affairs of Arab states and impose alien values on their societies.[81] Most Arab governments, more aware of the need to maintain close economic and political ties with the EU and the U.S., at the same time have to take into account the feelings and concerns of their peoples.

---

[80] The view exists that the South is a 'piece of property', which the North of right dominates. To lend legitimacy to this attitude, an ideological base has been formed which describes the South as a threat because of the population explosion, high unemployment, the failure of attempts to democratize and modernize, unbridgeable religious and cultural differences and general instability. These opinions have provoked reactions and a wave of anti-western feeling in the South.

[81] There is an additional reason why the West should adopt very sensible policies vis-à-vis the Mediterranean and the Middle East. Many Muslims believe that they are facing a new 'campaign' by the West, spearheaded by the issues of human rights, democratisation and economic liberalisation. They believe that they have already seen this phenomenon before in the 18th century with the attempt to spread Christianity and in the 19th century with the West's cultural mission -- the "white man's burden". Muslims regard this 'campaign' by the West as hypocritical. Moreover, the Islamic world feels besieged by the West in a large number of vital issues: political, military, economic, social, and cultural and this leads to the emergence of anti-Western sentiment. Typically, they will point out that, whenever any Arab leader, even a tyrant like Saddam Hussein 'rebels' against the West, the first instinctive reaction of the people in Muslim countries is to applaud him and to support him, regardless of his real aims and intentions or the crimes he has carried out against his people. Indeed, Muslim memories of Western domination are more recent and hence far more fresh than Western recollections of the siege of Vienna. These Muslims are also concerned about the dilution and possibly the disappearance of their civilisation under the influence of what Bernard Lewis has characterised as "the seductive allure" of Western civilisation. (Shireen Hunter, *The Future of Islam and the West*, CSIS, Washington D.C., 1998, p. 12; Fuller & Lesser, p. 38)

2. The Alliance's new Strategic Concept and its new role in the Mediterranean

a.   NATO's new role in the post-Cold War era

The post-Cold war strategic thinking of NATO countries has evolved from the pre-eminence of territorial defence to the predominance of security interests. Concomitantly, the dominant concern is the management of crises and conflicts that are deemed to put at stake relevant security interests within the Euro-Atlantic area.[82] The new Strategic Concept reflects this changing balance between collective defence and crisis response. It notes that that Alliance forces must be able to carry out a full range of missions. At the same time, these forces must also be able to contribute to conflict prevention and non-Article V crisis response operations (Paragraph 14).

In the 1990s, many analysts and officials felt that NATO was faced with the dilemma "out of area or out of business". Even today, no clear consensus exists within the Alliance on exactly how far NATO's geographic scope extends. NATO's expanded scope for action, its willingness to act in some cases without a UN mandate -- one of the most divisive issues within the Alliance--, and its emphasis on the need to enhance its power-projection capabilities could intensify concerns in the Middle East and North Africa about NATO's purposes and objectives, stimulating fears that NATO is now more likely to intervene in these regions.[83]

It is argued that the war in Kosovo may prove to be both the first and the last NATO war. Instead, coalitions of the willing endorsed by the NATO political structure, using NATO-committed military assets (which means principally U.S. assets for any significant effort), and employing some, but not all, elements of NATO military structure are likely to be the option of choice in the future.[84]

Particular emphasis is placed on deployability, mobility, and survivability of forces and their ability to operate beyond NATO's borders (Paragraphs 53b and 53d). DCI aims at increasing interoperability and enhancing the Alliance's capability for power projection. While such a reorientation is necessary to allow NATO to handle the new risks it may face in the coming decades, this adjustment could create the impression in some Middle East and North African countries that NATO is trying to become a global policeman.[85]

---

[82] Vasconcelos, p. 4.

[83] Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. 20 & 22.

[84] Simon Serfaty et. al, *Transatlantic Approaches to the Mediterranean. Impact of the New NATO on North and South Perspectives*, CSIS Occasional Reports in European Studies, May 1999, p. 7.

[85] Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. 22.

b.   *NATO and the Mediterranean: A threat assessment*

Although the Balkans are not fully stable, NATO's attention will increasingly be shifting towards the Mediterranean and the Middle East (including the Persian Gulf), especially after the events of 11 September 2001. According to the new (1999) Strategic Concept,

> "The Mediterranean is an area of special interest to the Alliance. Security in Europe is closely linked to security and stability in the Mediterranean. NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue process is an integral part of NATO's cooperative approach to security. It provides a framework for confidence building, promotes transparency and cooperation in the region, and reinforces and is reinforced by other international efforts. The Alliance is committed to developing progressively the political, civil and military aspects of the Dialogue with the aim of achieving closer cooperation with, and more active involvement by, countries that are partners in this Dialogue." (Article 38 of the 1999 NATO Strategic Concept)

Almost all of the risks[86] referred to in the Alliance's New Strategic Concept are present in a more or less acute form in those regions (although those risks are much more indirect and ambiguous).[87] NATO's increased attention is demonstrated, among other, by its new Command Structure (with the

---

[86] Virtually every trend and potential risk becomes a "threat" when it is carried to logical extremes. Most potential threats do not materialize, particularly in the draconian form often used by strategic analysts. It is all too easy to transform low-level risks into broad indictments of all Arabs, all Persians, or all of Islam. These kinds of indictments are little more than racism. They ignore the fact that the overwhelming majority of the people in the region have no interest in violence and that Islam is a powerful force for both morality and stability. The problem, therefore, is to put regional threats in the kind of perspective where it is possible to examine possibilities without confusing them with probabilities. (Cordesman, p. 11)

[87] "Notwithstanding positive developments in the strategic environment and the fact that large-scale conventional aggression against the Alliance is highly unlikely, the possibility of such a threat emerging over the longer term exists. The security of the Alliance remains subject to a wide variety of military and non-military risks, which are multi-directional and often difficult to predict. These risks include uncertainty and instability in and around the Euro-Atlantic area and the possibility of regional crises in and around the Euro-Atlantic area, which could evolve rapidly. Some countries in and around the Euro-Atlantic area face serious economic, social and political difficulties. Ethnic and religious rivalries, territorial disputes, inadequate or failed efforts at reform, the abuse of human rights, and the dissolution of states can lead to local and even regional instability. The resulting tensions can lead to crises affecting Euro-Atlantic stability, to human suffering, and to armed conflicts. Such conflicts could affect the security of the Alliance by spilling over into neighbouring countries, including NATO countries, or in other ways, and could also affect the security of other states." (Article 20 of the 1999 NATO Strategic Concept)

emphasis on the Southern Flank)[88], the Mediterranean Dialogue[89] and the debate on current programmes and future deployment of Theater Missile Defences (TMD). More specifically, there are two dimensions of NATO's Mediterranean strategy:

(1) *Core objectives and related defence planning*: it involves NATO's military presence the region, military exercises and, in the not-too-distant future, a theater missile defence (TMD);[90]

(2) *Multilateral cooperation*: in February 1995 an institutionalized dialogue was launched in Brussels between NATO and the ambassadors of Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Israel, Mauritania, Tunisia, with the more recent addition of Algeria)[91]

A military threat assessment

From a military point of view, Mediterranean states vary widely. Some, such as Algeria (and, to a lesser extent, Lebanon), confront serious internal security problems. Others are unimportant from a military point of view (for example, Tunisia, Malta and Cyprus). Some are involved in disputes with neighbouring countries and have strong military forces at their disposal, but with a limited radius of action and limited ability to increase their strength (Israel[92], Syria, Greece and Turkey). Other states also possess strong armed forces, but have no particular enemies (Italy, Spain). Finally, France is in a category of her own as a Mediterranean superpower.

TABLE II:
Military forces of selected countries in the Mediterranean and the Middle East

---

[88] RC South covers approximately 1.5 million square miles from the Strait of Gibraltar to the northeastern coast of Turkey on the Black Sea and from the North African littoral to the Alps and Crimea.

[89] The Alliance operates in an environment of continuing change. Developments in recent years have been generally positive, but uncertainties and risks remain which can develop into acute crises. ...its increased political and military partnership, cooperation and dialogue with other states, including with Russia, Ukraine and Mediterranean Dialogue countries. Article 12 of the 1999 NATO Strategic Concept

[90] The Alliance would also need to shape the security environment and contain new security risks, especially those of a transregional character, such as WMD and missile proliferation, spillovers of terrorism and political violence and threats to energy security, and to plan for various scenarios of regional uncertainty dealing with disastrous refugee flows and civil emergencies will be part of this hedging dimension, as will anticipating and preparing for humanitarian interventions. (Lesser, p. 57-58)

[91] Kerdun, p.130; Frederick Bonnart, "What does NATO propose to be doing South of the Mediterranean?', *International Herald Tribune*, 17 February 1995; J. Green, F.S. Larrabee & I. Lesser, "NATO is looking South and Mideast Peace Stands to Gain", *International Herald Tribune*, 19 January 1996.

[92] Because of its nuclear arsenal and ballistic-missile capability, Israel has a longer-range power projection capability.

	Defence expenditures (2000)	Manpower	Combat aircraft	Major surface combatants	Submarines	NBC capabilities	Surface-to-surface missiles [93]	Disarmament treaties
Algeria	$3 bn	124,000	176	3	2	--	--	NPT, CWC
Egypt	$2.9 bn	443,000	580	11	4	Alleged CBW capability	--	NPT, BWC (S)
Iran	$12 bn	513.000	283(less than 2/3 in service)	3	3	Alleged CBW capability	Under development	NPT, BWC, CWC
Iraq[94]	$1.4 bn?	375.000	316 (only 50% in service)	--	--	Probable NBC capability	Small number	NPT (?), BWC
Israel	$9.5 bn	163,500	446	3	3	Nuclear weapons, Alleged CBW capability	YES	CWC (S)
Libya	$1.2 bn	76,000	372 (unknown operational status)	2	1	Alleged CBW capability	NO	NPT, BWC
Morocco	$1.7 bn	198,500	95	1	--	NO	NO	NPT, BWC (S) CWC
Syria	$775 million	215,000	589	2	--	Alleged CBW capability	SCUD-C, M-9	NPT, BWC (S)

Source: *The Military Balance 2001-2002*, IISS

The assessment of military forces in southern Mediterranean countries leads to the conclusion that, for the present and the foreseeable future, the EU countries (or NATO for that matter) are not confronted with a military "threat from the South". States around the Mediterranean have neither the capability, nor the intention to threaten militarily the territory and populations of EU countries.[95]

Besides, the possibility of a state unifying the Arab nations, thus combining the mineral wealth of the Arab peninsula and the Sahara with the dynamic human resources of North Africa and the Middle East, and using it to create a military machine which will threaten Europe is very slight indeed.[96] This is owing to the absence of credible leadership in the Arab world.

---

[93] With a range of more than 300km.

[94] After the war and occupation of Iraq by the Coalition forces, the figures have changed. Furthermore, it should be assumed that there is no longer an Iraqi NBC-threat (it is interesting, however, that weapons of mass destruction have not yet been discovered).

[95] As Gareth Winrow rightly argues, "the distinction between risks, potential threats, and actual threats is not clear-cut. Capability is easier to ascertain than intention. And, of course, intentions can always change". (Winrow, p. 141)

[96] Mortimer in Peter Ludlow (ed.), *Europe and the Mediterranean*, London, 1994, p. 108.

A lack of cohesion characterizes the South as a whole, not only the Mediterranean. It has no common ideology beyond a very generalized feeling of annoyance at the inequality between North and South. There is no system of alliances among the countries of the South (except for the Movement of Non-aligned Countries, which could be described as a very loose political alliance, and which in any case has ceased to play any real role). On the contrary, many of these states regard each other, and not the countries of the North, as their more immediate and dangerous rivals. Furthermore, for the foreseeable future, security agendas in the south will be driven to a considerable extent by internal security concerns or potential conflicts with neighbouring countries. Indeed, the arms race in the Middle East is motivated primarily by "intraregional concerns".

Informal discussions with government officials and academics in southern European countries, as well as academic studies lead to the following conclusion: although there are frequent references and a rather extensive debate (especially after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001) on new risks and challenges (mostly of a transnational nature such as religious extremism, illegal mass migration, terrorism, organized crime, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, etc.)[97] to Western security, and it is accepted that most of those risks originate in the southern shores of the Mediterranean and the Middle East, there is very little if any official reference, either in a national or European level, to threats coming from the South.

Regarding the threat assessments of Southern European countries, there are general and vague statements on instability and transnational problems in the Mediterranean, without naming any specific country in the South. Unofficially, some concern is expressed because southern EU countries perceive themselves as having vital interests in the Mediterranean (including energy security and the prevention of illegal mass migration). Positions at the EU level are equally vague. It is not clear whether this is intentional in order to allow freedom of maneuver or because of the inability of EU members to agree on a clear specific policy and course of action vis-à-vis the Mediterranean.

There is strong concern, however, about the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.[98] Because of the so-called "war against international terrorism"

---

[97] See for instance references to instability in the Mediterranean and asymmetric threats in the 1999 and 2001 *White Paper* of the Hellenic Ministry of National Defence, without reference, however, to specific countries.

[98] In 1994 the WEU published a paper, which argued that missile proliferation among "regional adversaries" in North Africa and the Middle East posed a genuine threat to Europe, and advocated a European missile defence as a way to combat this. (Ian Kenyon, Mike Rance, John Simpson, Mark Smith, *Prospects for a European Ballistic Missile Defence System*, Southampton Papers in International Policy, No. 4, Southampton, 2001, p. 19) In 1995, the WEU Council of Ministers agreed that "The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and of their delivery means, in certain countries of this region, is also a cause for concern for

launched by the United States, with the support of European countries, and by extension of NATO, the Alliance is expected to devote a significant share of its efforts and (rather limited) funds in dealing with the proliferation threat. In this context, both offensive and defensive options will be examined in greater detail.

There is an institutionalized discussion in the context of a NATO[99], as well as a debate at the national level in various European countries.[100] The proliferation threat against European countries should be conceived of as a mid- to long-term threat that –under certain circumstances-- might be avoided altogether by political changes in the countries concerned, by the intensification of institutional contacts, economic co-operation (mainly in the form of investment and development assistance from the West) and by the development of good neighbourly relations. The question, however, is whether one can rely solely on political-diplomatic means or whether these should be complemented by military preparations,[101] mainly in the form of theatre missiles defenses (TMD).[102]

regional stability and European security." (WEU Council of Ministers, *European security: a common concept of the 27 WEU Countries*, Madrid 14 November 1995, paragraph 105)

[99] According to Article 56 of NATO's Strategic Concept, "The Alliance's defence posture against the risks and potential threats of the proliferation of NBC weapons and their means of delivery must continue to be improved, including through work on missile defences. As NATO forces may be called upon to operate beyond NATO's borders, capabilities for dealing with proliferation risks must be flexible, mobile, rapidly deployable and sustainable. Doctrines, planning and training and exercise policies must also prepare the Alliance to deter and defend against the use of NBC weapons. The aim in doing so will be to further reduce operational vulnerabilities of NATO military forces while maintaining their flexibility and effectiveness despite the presence, threat or use of NBC weapons."

[100] For example, French defence planning has undergone a "southward reorientation" to take account of WMD in developing states since the Defence White Paper of 1994. The French Senate Report of June 2000 accepted that long-range missile capabilities would emerge in the Middle East at some point in the future, but, like Britain, France places greater faith in the deterrent power of its nuclear weapons against small "rogue states" than does the U.S. (Kenyon, et. al, p. 6)

[101] History also appears to indicate that, just as European states prefer to use political criteria in assessing security threats, they also display a clear preference for deploying political and diplomatic, rather than military, responses when threats are seen to exist. Kenyon, et. al, p.8

[102] Thanos Dokos, "The Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Mediterranean: The Threat to Western Security", *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol.5, No.3, Autumn 2000, p.112. According to Therese Delpech, "To the U.S., which had for decades learned to live with its vulnerability vis-à-vis Moscow, the idea of having to reckon with possible attacks from Tehran, Pyongyang or Baghdad is intolerable, not just because of the random, unpredictable nature of the threat, but because of its highly asymmetrical character. Since many states involved in ballistic missile proliferation are in Europe's neighborhood, one might imagine that European countries would share that view, but that is not the case. Even Italy, which came under attack from Libya in 1986, rarely expresses concern. Whether this equanimity persists in 10 to 15 years from now will depend on the evolution of proliferation in the Mediterranean area, which it would be advisable not only to monitor but see increased efforts to contain." (Therese Delpech, "Nuclear weapons –less central, more dangerous?" in *Nuclear Weapons: A New Great Debate*, WEU Institute for Security Studies, Chaillot Paper no.48, Paris, July 2001, p. 13)

In this context, it should be kept in mind that in the near future, the WMD capabilities of proliferants may have advanced significantly, particularly if abetted by the purchase or illicit transfer of weapons, delivery systems and related technologies (which would result to the sudden introduction of WMD or long-range missile systems on NATO's periphery). Furthermore, there is considerable uncertainty about the political stability of several regimes in the region, which are faced with strong internal challenges, mainly from Islamic (fundamentalist) groups.

In the opinion of this author, NATO's emphasis should continue to be on political-diplomatic means and on non-proliferation, but these should be complemented by military preparations (mainly of a defensive nature such as training, decontamination capabilities, availability of protective equipment, etc; the deployment of theatre ballistic missile defences should be also seriously considered). In fact, the "*Alliance Policy Framework on Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction*", including the "*Assessment of Proliferation Risks to NATO*", provides a basis for Allied defence efforts against proliferation and argues that as a defensive Alliance, NATO must maintain a range of capabilities needed to discourage WMD proliferation and use and to protect NATO territory, populations and forces against such use.

3. Multilateral cooperation in the Mediterranean

(a) Regional cooperation in the Mediterranean: Problems and prospects

The end of the Cold War has lifted many of the constraints on regional cooperation in the Mediterranean. There are several diplomatic initiatives under way, and this raises the issue of cooperation among organisations. Antagonism and overlap among them may be unavoidable, but should be kept to a minimum. Better coordination is essential if Euro-Atlantic initiatives are to be complementary and mutually reinforcing.

Various initiatives have made limited progress, so far. The relative lack of success in efforts for regional co-operation in the Mediterranean can be attributed to the following factors:

(1) The existence of the Arab-Israeli conflict (and to a much lesser extent other conflicts such as the Greek-Turkish one) frustrates efforts to explore cooperative arrangements in CSBM and arms control fields;

(2) Some of the rivalries and conflicts in the region are overlapping with out-of-region antagonisms and conflicts, complicating ongoing efforts for conflict resolution and co-operation);

(3) The lack of homogeneity between the North and the South and of shared values (like in the case of the CSCE/OSCE), where states despite their ideological differences had strong historical and cultural links. In addition, as already mentioned, there are great differences in the level of development, in the sizes of states and their military capabilities;[103]

(4) The relative dearth of south-south relations;

---

[103] According to Stephen Calleya, "The three sub-regions encompassing the Mediterranean are southern Europe, the Maghreb, and the Mashreq. Each of the sub-regions continues to follow different evolutionary patterns and there is very little to indicate that any of them will integrate with their counterparts across the Mediterranean any time soon. Relations across Southern Europe are largely co-operative dominant, with this group of countries increasing their intergovernmental and transnational ties with the rest of Europe on a continuous basis. In contrast, conflictual relations have consistently hindered closer co-operation between countries in both North Africa and the Levant. Relations in these two sub-regions of the Mediterranean remain primarily limited at an intergovernmental level, with cross-border types of interaction limited to the energy sector and Islam" (Stephen Calleya, *Is the Barcelona Process Working? EU Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Paper presented at a conference on the Barcelona Process, Athens, April 1998, p. 7).

(5) The lack of territorial contiguity among the two shores of the Mediterranean (at least by land), although this can be seen as an advantage in some cases;

(6) Colonial memories in the south of the Mediterranean.[104]
Of course, not all of the above factors weigh equally.

(b)   NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue: A synopsis of activities

NATO began to focus on the Mediterranean in the 1960s with the establishment of the Expert Working Group on the Middle East and the Maghreb, and later –at a more political level— of the *Ad Hoc* Group on the Mediterranean.[105] However, until the end of the Cold War there was little common NATO policy toward the Mediterranean to speak of, beyond a basic commitment to common defense of allied territory, maritime space and sea-lanes. The primary concern for the Atlantic Alliance in the Mediterranean during the Cold War was the growing presence of a Soviet maritime capability developed for deployment in the region (the *Sovmedron* or *Fifth Eskadra*), the deployment of Soviet military personnel and equipment in friendly states around the littoral and the deployment of Soviet forces on the Greek-Turkish borders.[106]

The shift by the Alliance beyond a primary concern with military security to a concern with multiple security threats was manifest in the Alliance's new Strategic Concept of 1991, which declared that "The stability and peace of the countries on the southern periphery of Europe are important for the security of the Alliance, as the 1991 Gulf War has shown. This is all the more so because of the build-up of military power and the proliferation of weapons technologies in the area, including WMD and ballistic missiles capable of reaching the territory of some member-states of the Alliance".

In December 1994, NATO Foreign Ministers stated their willingness "to establish contacts, on a case-by-case basis between the Alliance and Mediterranean non-member countries with a view to contributing to the strengthening of regional stability". The Alliance's Mediterranean Dialogue was launched with six Mediterranean partners, namely Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia. Algeria joined the Dialogue in February 2000.

---

104 Thanos Dokos, "Sub-Regional Cooperation in the Mediterranean: Current Issues and Future Prospects" in Andrew Cottey (ed.), *Subregional Cooperation in the New Europe*, Institute for East-West Studies, MacMillan Press, London, 1999.

105 Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. 45.

106 The Mediterranean south played a rather marginal role in the East-West strategic competition and NATO strategy. (Whitman, p. 5; Lesser, p. 5)

According to NATO, the Dialogue is aimed at "creating good relations and better mutual understanding throughout the Mediterranean, as well as promoting regional security and stability. It provides for political discussions with the participating countries. Its work is organised through an annual Work Programme focusing on practical cooperation in security and defence-related areas, information, civil-emergency planning and science."[107]

In this regard, NATO's contribution should be to continue to strengthen the Mediterranean Dialogue by concentrating on fields where it has a clear comparative advantage: defence and security. This will complement the initiatives of other organizations and contribute to constructive relations with NATO's Mediterranean neighbours.[108] It is argued that the Mediterranean Dialogue does not signal a redirection of the Alliance's priorities, but instead a modest addition to its numerous and fast-growing functions[109] and that it is "divorced from NATO's broader security and defence agenda in the Mediterranean", which involves "such important security issues as CP, counterterrorism, peacekeeping, and humanitarian assistance".

In a North Atlantic Assembly (NAA) report in 1996, rapporteur Pedro Moya of Spain noted that the MD had been "received as a mixed blessing by the Mediterranean countries because most Arab countries exhibit an ingrained mistrust against the west in general, and its embodiment in the Alliance in particular; few in Arab countries understand what NATO is and does..."[110]

In May 1997 in Sintra, the North Atlantic Council (NAC) declared: "We want to further enhance this dialogue and improve its overall political visibility as an effort of confidence-building and cooperation that contributes to stability".[111] In the Madrid summit of July 1997, the Mediterranean Cooperation Group was established to have the overall responsibility of the Mediterranean Dialogue.

Another step in the effort to exchange information was the decision taken by Alliance foreign ministers in 1998 to establish "Contact Point Embassies" in Mediterranean Dialogue countries. Under this system, similar to that which has been successfully operating in Central and Eastern Europe since 1992, the embassy of a NATO member country will represent the Alliance in each Dialogue country. The programme has fully operational since the 1st of January 1999.

---

[107] http://www.nato.int/docu/facts/2000/med-dia.htm. For a detailed history of the Mediterranean Dialogue see, Whitman, p. 11-12.

[108] Alberto Bin, "Strengthening Cooperation in the Mediterranean: The Contribution of the Atlantic Alliance", Presentation at the 1999 International Halki Seminars, organised by the Hellenic's Foundation for European & Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), p. 15.

[109] Menotti, p. 1.

[110] Menotti, p. 7

[111] Winrow, p. 178.

NATO's military authorities have devised a military concept specifically designed for the Mediterranean Dialogue countries which includes three main components: courses at the NATO Defence College (NDC) in Rome, and specific activities to be conducted under the responsibility of Allied Command Europe (ACE) and Allied Command Atlantic (ACLANT).[112] The NDC offers General and Flag Officers Courses specifically intended for Mediterranean Dialogue country representatives. In terms of exercises, NATO's two major commands –ACE and ACLANT—offered 34 and 49 military activities in 1998 and 1999 respectively, to Mediterranean Dialogue countries. These included PfP activities in the fields of Search and Rescue (SAR), maritime safety and medical evacuation, as well as exercises related to peace support and humanitarian relief.

Reducing misunderstanding and improving the overall climate of relations between the two shores of the Mediterranean was the primary motivation behind the Dialogue. This attempt came against the background of growing concern among NATO members about the risk of WMD proliferation, as well as more diffuse types of instability emanating from the South and Southeast. However, assessments of the implications of such risks have varied considerably in the course of the 1990s among the allies, making it difficult to develop unambiguous policies in support of common goals.

As Roberto Menotti put it, "There is still limited agreement regarding the goals of the Dialogue, its scope and the substantive issues it ought to deal with. Thus, the initiative suffers from weak support among some key allies and a continuing lack of focus, in spite of recent efforts to enhance the level of activities included in the Dialogue. Additional factors that have constrained the evolution of the initiative include the politically fragmented character of the Mediterranean region, the priority of NATO's Eastward enlargement, the constant spillover of the Middle East peace process, and the institutional overlap between NATO's Dialogue and the EU's Barcelona process."[113]

As mentioned above, not all NATO member states regard the initiative with the same degree of enthusiasm.[114] The greatest support for the dialogue comes, unsurprisingly, from NATO's Southern members. But the Northern members have far less interest in the initiative. Apparently Canada and the north European members of the Atlantic Alliance only threw their weight behind the initiative when they were assured that the exercise would be cost-free, would remain at the diplomatic level for the foreseeable future and would not divert NATO's attention away from central and eastern Europe. Furthermore, not all of the Southern NATO countries support the initiative

---

[112] Bin, p. 12.

[113] Menotti, abstract.

[114] Internal consensus on MD is a delicate one. Some regard it as a simple public relations effort, others think of it as a useful channel to discuss security questions, while the more ambitious would like the dialogue to consider how NATO could address the security concerns of the Mediterranean partners. (Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. 50)

with equal ardor. France's position differs from that of Italy and its commitment is tempered by its own idiosyncratic perception of its interests in the region as well as its attitude toward NATO's transformation and evolution.[115]

The lack of a solid consensus over the essence of the Dialogue has not deterred its sponsors, which is in itself an indication of the unique characteristic of this consultative forum: the unspoken premise seems to be that a weak dialogue is better than no dialogue at all.[116]

The success or failure of NATO's Mediterranean Initiative will be determined to a considerable extent by the degree to which it addresses the concerns and fears of the dialogue partners themselves. How do they regard the initiative? Are they enthusiastic about it or simply indifferent? To what extent does it address their security concerns? How can the initiative be made more relevant and effective? As a general principle, none of the dialogue states is opposed to the initiative per se, and each of them regards it with a varying degree of interest. At the same time, there is a variety of uncertainties, questions, and concerns that need to be addressed if the dialogue is to achieve its objectives and promote greater transparency for and understanding of NATO's goals.[117]

Some Arab Dialogue partners view with concern what they the perceive as the "lack of basic requirements for conducting a healthy and constructive dialogue, such as the absence of a concrete agenda as well as the lack of common definition or even understanding of the main aspects of security in the Mediterranean such as risks, threats and modalities of tackling security issues, particularly when NATO is undergoing significant conceptual transformations, including resorting to "soft security" which is unconventional to its modalities and operations".[118]

Another analyst has noted that in Egypt the Mediterranean Dialogue came to be considered mainly as an attempt to confront and avoid the negative phenomena stemming from the South of the Mediterranean and the Middle East (such as illegal migration, drug smuggling, terrorism, proliferation of WMD) without seeking the cooperation of the countries in the South in solving such problems.[119] Thus, Egypt saw the real purpose of the initiative to be

---

[115] Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. 59; Winrow, p. 154.

[116] Menotti, p. 12.

[117] Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. 57.

[118] Raouf Saad, "Egypt and the North Atlantic Treaty organization. Perceptions and Prospects" in Maurizio Coccia (ed.), *The 50 Years of NATO Seen From the Mediterranean Region*, Rome, 1999, p. 77-78.

[119] According to RAND Corporation study, "Many see that the initiative is primarily designed to prevent unfettered migration, drug smuggling, terrorism, and other "unhealthy" influences from crossing into Europe from North Africa. While this view relates more to the policies of the EU than to those of NATO, it also carries over to perceptions of the purposes of NATO's dialogue as well. Many dialogue countries feel that NATO is essentially seeking a way to keep the North African states and their problems at arm' length, rather than genuinely trying to

merely keeping the problems away from Europe. In addition, excluding some Arab countries (such as Syria, Lebanon, Libya and Algeria) while excluding Israel, made Israel suspect that another purpose behind the initiative was to merge Israel in the region's security structure before reaching a comprehensive settlement on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.[120]

Indeed, one of the critical issues for the dialogue countries is the composition of the group itself –why each was chosen to participate in the dialogue and why others were excluded.[121] Each of the six countries realizes that it was chosen because it was perceived to be a moderate, Western-looking, constructive (as defined by the West) participant in regional affairs. Furthermore, all six have diplomatic and political ties with one another, which is no small matter given the fractious quality of political life in the Middle East and North Africa.[122]

The initiative is, therefore, of necessity a multi-bilateral discussion between a highly organized and capable Western institution and a group of states –some regionally powerful, other not— on the other side of the Mediterranean. According to a RAND study, "as the initiative has evolved, its center of gravity has subtly shifted from the western and central Mediterranean to the east. Noticeable differences in interest and engagement have emerged. Egypt, Israel, and Jordan are now the most active participants in Initiative activities, with a lively if now always positive debate about relations with the Alliance. Mauritania is favorably disposed. Morocco and Tunisia are, for the moment, more cautious. In short, attitudes toward the Initiative are becoming more highly differentiated, arguing for a greater degree of flexibility and "variable geometry".[123]

One of the most important problems is that while the Mediterranean Dialogue focuses on north-south interstate relations, Arab governments are more concerned with south-south interstate relations and with "security" and "stability" problems within their state. These concerns of Arab leaders would seem to set limits and place bounds on the possible effectiveness of the NATO-Mediterranean dialogue.[124]

---

engage in closer partnerships with them". Even worse, it is argued that for some in the Middle East, NATO and the West are the security threat. Thus, continued deep-seated suspicion about the dialogue is likely to persist until its goals can be better articulated and more broadly understood. (Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. 59 & 61)

[120] Emad Gad Badras, "NATO's Role in the Mediterranean: A View from Egypt" in Coccia (ed.), p. 81.

[121] According to Roberto Menotti, potential Dialogue partners include "grey" countries Syria, Lebanon, Algeria, "black" countries or "rogue states" Iraq, Iran, Libya and countries belonging to a de facto "American reservoir" in the Persian Gulf and the Arab peninsula. (Menotti, p. 8)

[122] Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. 29 & 57.

[123] Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. x.

[124] Winrow, p. 20.

c. *Other initiatives: EU, WEU, OSCE*

The wide variety of official and unofficial Mediterranean initiatives continues to give rise to confusion and dialogue fatigue, although most see this as preferable to the strategic neglect of previous decades. There is also an observable spillover effect from disputes in other fora, most notably in relations with the EU.[125]

The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership aims at the establishment of a truly comprehensive relationship among the participants in three different baskets: (a) political and security (b) economic and financial (c) social and cultural. The EMP entails a multilateral political, economic and social dialogue between the EU and its 12 Mediterranean partners [all southern Mediterranean countries with the exception of Libya]; strengthened cooperation between the civil societies of the participating countries; and a series of association agreements. To support economic development, the EU supplemented the agreements with financial assistance. In 2001, the EMP has been re-launched for another five-year period.

We appear to be approaching a rather critical point concerning the future development and direction of EU's Mediterranean (EMP) and security (ESDP) policies. Even after the initial period of implementation of the Barcelona Process, by far the most important and successful –in relative terms— cooperation initiative in the Mediterranean region, there is no clear answer to the question of whether and to what extent Europe should and will give greater priority to the Mediterranean.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the EMP has no military dimension because the Mediterranean partners' armed forces are rather reluctant to engage in multilateral military cooperation.[126] According to Martin Ortega, "This is not always clearly stated but some declarations do express sentiments that reveal a perception of neo-interventionism and neo-colonialism, which may be considered as a lack of desire to establish military dialogue and cooperation".[127] However, there has been some degree of military cooperation between European and Mediterranean countries in the context of participation in peacekeeping missions under UN auspices and NATO command.[128]

---

[125] Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. x.

[126] Although the EMP security dialogue is multilateral, it encounters a similar obstacle to that of the NATO dialogue in confronting security problems in the Mediterranean. Syria and Lebanon refuse to discuss security in any official institutional framework where Israel also participates. (Vasconcelos, p. 7)

[127] Martin Ortega, *Military Dialogue in the Euro-Mediterranean Charter: An Unjustified Absence,* EuroMeSCo, October 1999, p.3.

[128] Egypt, Jordan and Morocco participated in NATO-led IFOR/SFOR operations in Bosnia and the UAE participated to *Operation Allied Harbour* in Albania and KFOR in Kosovo.

The main purpose of the WEU's Mediterranean Dialogue, which was conducted between the WEU Secretariat General and six Mediterranean partners (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Mauritania and Israel), was to conduct an exchange of views on developments in security and defence issues affecting the Mediterranean region, with a view to establishing transparency and bolstering confidence on both sides.[129]

According to Gareth Winrow, the WEU Mediterranean Dialogue "both at the level of experts and at the diplomatic level, was based on seven principles: transparency in military activities and military doctrine; the emulation of CSCE/OSCE mechanisms for consultation, confidence-building and fact finding; conflict prevention; sufficiency in conventional armed forces; nonproliferation; the peaceful settlement of disputes; and common security perceptions concerning the region. The focus was thus on the military aspects of security".[130] The WEU's Mediterranean Dialogue was even less successful than NATO's, mainly because of the perceived weakness of the WEU as a defence organization.[131] Whether the EU will decide to continue the Dialogue is an open question at this stage.

Since March 1994, the OSCE has established an open-ended contact group, at expert level, with a number of Mediterranean countries (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia).[132] OSCE can play a role in fostering Mediterranean cooperation. But the OSCE's principal focus is elsewhere, and the organization is unlikely to substantially increase its involvement in the Mediterranean.[133]

There are other regional initiatives such as the Mediterranean Forum and the Middle East-North Africa (MENA) Summits,[134] which, unfortunately, have a very limited contribution in efforts to increase confidence and cooperation between the north and the south of the Mediterranean.

---

[129] For a more detailed description of the WEU initiative, see Whitman, pp. 18-20.

[130] Winrow, p. 150.

[131] It is also argued that the great weakness of EUROFOR and EUROMARFOR was the absence of a framework within which to operate. Given its limited substance and lack of cooperation on concrete issues, the WEU's Mediterranean Dialogue did not constitute such a framework. Nor does the EMP, so long as it fails to involve arrangements for Euro-Mediterranean military operations aimed at conflict prevention or crisis management. (Sven Biscop, Network or Labyrinth? The Challenge of Co-ordinating Western Security Dialogues with the Mediterranean, *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol.7, No.1, Spring 2002, p. 97)

[132] *OSCE Handbook*, pp. 163-166.

[133] Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. 39.

[134] MENA was a potentially useful vehicle for extending the peace process in the economic arena, which has essentially collapsed, a victim of stalemate in the implementation of the Arab-Israeli peace agreement.

4. NATO and the Mediterranean in the 21st century: Future prospects, conclusions and policy recommendations

There is general agreement that because of the complexity of problems no single initiative can address both the longer-term and proximate sources of instability in the region. Only a combination of institutions and policy tools can produce most of the desired results.[135] Complementarity is the key word and each organisation should concentrate its efforts on fields where it has a clear comparative advantage and something constructive to offer as a contribution to the solution of the problems in the Mediterranean region. In other words, we should look for the "added value". We must ascertain the capabilities of each organization in order to achieve the most efficient division of labour and avoid duplication of effort.[136] The best means of preventing many future crises in the Mediterranean is to address their root causes before the situation reaches the crisis stage. Because most of the problems are of a socio-economic nature, the European Union is the best actor to deal with these problems and ensure that they do not escalate into major crises requiring military action. The EU approach may, in the medium- to long-term, be more efficient because it is comprehensive, while NATO, by nature, cannot deal with socio-economic problems.

But NATO also has a potentially significant role to play. Although the EU may be more acceptable to some countries, especially when the problem is of a socio-economic nature, NATO is perceived as more credible when it comes to hard security issues. Therefore, the role of each organization has to be determined on a case-by-case basis.[137] Eventually the EU and NATO will have to agree on a coordinating mechanism regarding their Mediterranean activities.[138] Sven Biscop argues that "eventually NATO may be able to agree on a Mediterranean strategy, fully aligned with the EMP.[139] As a North-South

---

[135] It should also be pointed out that NATO's Mediterranean Initiative is not taking place in a vacuum, but will be influenced to a large extent by developments taking place within the framework of two other important initiatives: the European Union's Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP), also known as the Barcelona Process, and the Middle East peace process.

[136] It is argued, however, that any attempt to coordinate NATO and EU initiatives in the Mediterranean will be extremely difficult because of the lack of internal consensus within the EU over the development of a CFSP. (Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. 42)

[137] There is also mounting confusion about roles and agendas, a situation which could be described as "dialogue fatigue". Furthermore, disenchantment with aspects of cooperation in one fora (e.g. the EMP) can easily affect the climate in other settings, including the NATO initiative (a kind of domino effect).

[138] Bin agrees that "It seems possible to envisage regular briefings and exchanges of information on each organization's activities in the area of security and stability in the Mediterranean region; and expert-level meetings between organizations on the complementary Mediterranean dialogues and partnerships". (Bin, p. 119)

[139] Care must be taken to avoid a situation in which NATO and the EU might give contradictory messages to their Mediterranean interlocutors. (Biscop, p. 104)

CBM, intended to improve NATO's image in the South, the Dialogue is complementary to the EMP. A Mediterranean strategy for the Alliance should take care however to avoid the confrontational tone that is apparent in the NSC, which is contradictory to the spirit of cooperation and partnership advocated by the Barcelona Process. A view of the Mediterranean restricted to the perception of threats cannot be the basis for security cooperation and, as a self-fulfilling prophecy, would only serve to alienate the southern Mediterranean countries from the West and increase suspicions and distrust".[140] Indeed, although NATO's position is that wants to put an end to the image of the Mediterranean as a new dividing line[141], it is argued that because NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue has an exclusive rather than an inclusive character, it has created a dividing line between the Mediterranean and the West and have confirmed the prevailing view in the southern Mediterranean countries that the West essentially sees the Mediterranean as a source of security threats.[142]

Focusing on NATO, the central issue is the future of the Alliance's Mediterranean Dialogue. What is NATO's comparative advantage and specific contribution to Mediterranean security? In chapter 1, the current challenges were presented and discussed. Based on that analysis, what should be the future objectives? Can NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue achieve those objectives in its current form? What changes need to be made? What would a "road map" about its next stages look like?

An extremely important issue is the real value of the Dialogue for the Mediterranean Partners, in addition to its "public relations" dimension. It can be argued that Mediterranean Dialogue is a useful starting point and that its central contribution in its current and somewhat minimalist format is probably that of providing a "light" and yet formal –i.e. institutionalized"—channel for an exchange of ideas and proposals. Furthermore, public relations and "peaceful offensives" can be good for regional stability by marginally improving the political climate. Yet, it is argued that the much more demanding goal of building partnerships should be kept distinct from the ongoing effort to improve mutual understanding.

According to Alberto Bin, a NATO official heavily involved in the Alliance's Mediterranean Dialogue, "The number of co-operative activities has grown from just a few to a few hundred. These are laid out in the annual Work Programme whose contents include: information, civil emergency planning, science and environment, crisis management, defence policy and strategy,

---

[140] Biscop also argues that "Given the need to find a division of labour between the EU and the crisis management tasks of NATO, it seems equally logical that in the future security issues arising in the European periphery will first be dealt with in the framework of the Union, with NATO only to be involved if EU means prove sufficient". (Biscop, p. 105).

[141] Bin, p. 116.

[142] Dominic Fenech, "The Relevance of European Security Structures to the Mediterranean (and Vice Versa)", *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol.2, No.1, pp. 170-171; Biscop, p.110.

small arms and light weapons, global humanitarian mine action, proliferation and fully-fledged programme of cooperation in the military field. Notwithstanding this progress, the Dialogue has remained a big step behind NATO's other outreach efforts, notably the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) and the Partnership for Peace (PfP). It is still an exercise in confidence-building rather than a true partnership."[143]

It is correctly argued by Roberto Menotti that the Mediterranean Dialogue "lacks the virtue of clarity of purpose: the logic of the exercise is flexible enough to allow for "learning by doing", but fails to provide consistent guidelines to participants or prospective participants. This is both the strength and the weakness of the initiative. On the one hand, constructive ambiguity may be required to keep the parties interested in the dialogue; on the other hand, a talking shop may also generate some frustration especially if it encourages frank discussion of controversial issues while failing to offer strong incentives to reach compromises and make firm commitments".[144]

Regarding the initiative's objectives, a very penetrating analysis by RAND Corporation concluded that "in order for the Mediterranean Dialogue to succeed, attempts must be made to reconcile a history of distrust between the Middle East and the West. This can be accomplished if NATO rigorously defines what it wants the dialogue to accomplish and then invests adequate resources to educate opinion-makers in the dialogue countries about its goals. It must also confront the challenge of close interaction with states that are politically, culturally, historically and economically quite different from NATO's core membership. The goals of the dialogue must serve the needs of both sides. Thus, close attention must be paid to what the Middle Eastern and North African states want from the dialogue, as well as to NATO's ability to marshal adequate resources to make this an appealing policy option for the governments of these states. NATO must also take pains to make clear that the dialogue is sponsored by the organization in its entirety and not just certain members of it".

From a NATO perspective, the Alliance's Mediterranean Dialogue and, more generally, its strategy towards the Mediterranean region should focus on areas of comparative advantage for the Alliance: hard security issues and defence-related cooperation. Such a strategy would have four basic elements:

(1) understanding better the South's strategic perceptions;

(2) informing the partners about its concerns and plans in order to clear misperceptions (on both sides);

(3) influencing the perceptions of elites involved in the dialogue;

(4) promoting military and intelligence cooperation whenever feasible and realistic.

---

[143] Alberto Bin, "NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue: A Post-Prague Perspective", *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Summer 2002, pp. 116-117.

[144] Menotti, p. 10.

The main, and perhaps more feasible, objective of the Mediterranean Dialogue is to improve NATO's image in the Mediterranean South. In this context, NATO's Office of Information and Press has embarked on a public information campaign targeting Opinion leaders of Mediterranean Dialogue countries. While NATO has appropriated some funding for public information activities, the amount of money has been relatively modest and not sufficient to conduct a large outreach effort that could significantly affect perceptions in the dialogue countries.[145]

The major problem in this context is American support for Israel. NATO, in the eyes and minds of the "Arab street" (but also many officials) is a U.S.-led alliance (which is not far from an accurate perception). Any American "mistake" almost automatically burdens NATO as well. Therefore, as long as there is no solution to the Palestinian problem, public relations efforts by NATO would almost *a priori* have limited objectives and expectations and rather modest results.

---

[145] Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. 47.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following list addressing political and military issues is far from comprehensive:

♦ Countries across the Mediterranean should be treated as full partners in any security arrangements in which they are involved or concerned;[146]

♦ The spread of Islamic movements in the Arab and the Muslim world is an undeniable fact. Islam as a political force in the Muslim world will play an important role in shaping relations between Europe and the southern Mediterranean countries. Therefore, the West should seek to better understand the political culture of Islam and cease to demonize this religion;

♦ The alliance needs an outreach programme for both partner and selected non-partner countries along the Mediterranean. While these countries are unlikely to become NATO members, their security will increasingly impinge on broader Alliance interests.[147] It should be clear from the beginning, however, that cooperation with non-partner countries will be very limited under present circumstances;

♦ The Mediterranean region possesses its own specific dynamics and security challenges. The European model of cooperative security, with all its conditionalities, can be proposed to, but not imposed upon, the Mediterranean region. Although some elements of NATO's PfP initiative, which was quite successful in Central and Eastern Europe, may be applicable to the Mediterranean, the relative heterogeneity of the region would require specifically tailored solutions;

♦ Topics for cooperation should be acceptable to the partners and workable in practice.[148] No progress can be achieved without the active participation and contribution of NATO's Mediterranean partners. It cannot be a one-sided process;[149]

---

[146] Vasconcelos, p. 9.

[147] Asmus, R., Larrabee, S., Lesser, I. «Mediterranean Security: New Challenges, New Tasks». *NATO Review*, No. 3, May 1996, p. 31.

[148] It appears that so far there is a tendency for NATO officials to lead the discussions while the representatives of the non-NATO Mediterranean countries appear to assume a more passive and reactive role. (Winrow, p. 33)

[149] Bin correctly argues that NATO's Mediterranean partners should increase their level of active participation in the Dialogue. This could be achieved –*inter alia*—by emphasizing prior consultation with them; by further involving them in the preparation of the annual Work Programme; and by establishing individual cooperation programmes to be jointly developed and agreed. While fully respecting the principle of non-discrimination embedded in the Mediterranean Dialogue and personified by the common Work Programme, this would help promote greater flexibility, recognizing that the needs of each Dialogue country vary and that it is for each one of them to identify the kind of cooperative activities most suited to those needs. (Bin, p. 118)

♦ Dialogue activities have been conducted on a self-funding basis. If NATO's Mediterranean Initiative is to succeed, NATO will have to devote greater financial resources to it;

♦ NATO should address the dilemma of deepening its activities with partners, or expanding the scope of the initiative geographically (otherwise, it could be argued, it might inadvertently draw a new dividing line). However, one should realise there are very few, if any, candidates that currently meet the criteria. Expanding the dialogue's membership without the necessary preconditions might create serious problems and inhibit further progress. Therefore, the emphasis should be on deepening the Dialogue, while, at the same time, keeping the door open for new partners (with the parallel establishment of conditionality criteria for future partners);

♦ However, there is a country that could benefit from membership to both NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue and the European Union's Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP): **Iraq** (although not, from a strict geographical point of view, a Mediterranean country, the precedents of Jordan and Mauritania qualify Iraq for membership to both initiatives). In the same context, admission of an Iraqi institute (assuming that there is one that meets the basic criteria) to Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission (EuroMeSCo), an EU-funded network of foreign policy institutes from the EU and the south of the Mediterranean, should be an immediate priority (even if the Iraqi institute would first be admitted with an observer status).

♦ Countries with an interest in active engagement should be able to pursue the Initiative within a flexible framework. In short, cooperation should be developed on a case-by-case basis.[150]

♦ It may be wiser to focus attention on emerging, younger elites. In other words, to invest in the future. Although one cannot afford to ignore the present leadership, it may be unrealistic to expect a significant change of attitude vis-à-vis NATO and the West. Educational opportunities should be offered to young intellectuals, officers, parliamentarians, government and NGO officials and journalists from partner countries.

♦ Officials in the West should be mindful of the problem of "conditionality". For instance, they may insist that certain conditions such as political reform be met before Western economic aid is extended to a particular country. Economic sanctions may even be threatened in an effort to encourage democratization. However, Arab public opinion would most probably react vehemently to economic sanctions by claiming that the West was seeking to impose its values on their societies.[151]

---

[150] It was suggested by RAND that NATO should: (a) Adopt a regional approach to military cooperation; (b) Let interested partners participate in activities on a "variable geometry" basis to allow a more ambitious agenda (c) Strike a balance between bilateral and multilateral approaches; and (d) Promote the incremental development of the initiative. (Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, pp. xiii, 46, 75, 92-96).

[151] Winrow, p. 92.

♦ In addressing WMD and missile risks, it will be important to engage Dialogue states that are themselves exposed --perhaps most exposed— to WMD use around the Mediterranean.[152] An exchange of information, to be accompanied by a frank dialogue on proliferation and terrorism issues might also greatly facilitate intelligence, police and even judicial cooperation to combat terrorism in general (and prevent NBC terrorism).

The following table is a compilation of ideas and suggestions for activities in the framework of NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue (and as such it is only indicative and non-comprehensive):

TYPE OF ACTIVITY
Introduce educational courses and visits
Conduct civil emergency planning
Increase participation of the of the Dialogue countries in CEP activities related to Disaster management
Translate and disseminate key NATO materials and documents into Arabic
Develop and strengthen ties to research and defense institutions in the dialogue countries
Promote "low cost" confidence-building and transparency measures: for example, the notification of future military activities, discussion of a code of conduct for military activities & exchange of information among military staff
Invite Dialogue countries to send observers to large-scale NATO exercises
Sponsor fellowships and exchanges for researchers from Dialogue countries at major institutes in NATO countries dealing with defense and security matters
Continue support for visits to NATO by key opinion-makers from the Dialogue countries, especially journalists, academics and parliamentarians
Encourage greater participation in the courses, especially peacekeeping courses at the NATO School in Oberammergau
Move toward practical, PfP-like defense related activities (Mine clearance, SAR, evacuation, humanitarian and refugee control operations, etc.)
Reinforce the nongovernmental dimension and consider establishment of a NATO Mediterranean defence studies network
Consider establishing a crisis prevention and confidence-building

---

[152] WMD issues, for Egypt and other Arab Dialogue states, are seen first and foremost through the lens of the strategic competition with Israel. European and American WMD concerns, by contrast, rarely focus on Israeli programs, concentrating instead on the risky combination of proliferation and unstable or aggressive regimes. Israel's unconventional capabilities are no more of a concern to most Western observers and policymakers than the nuclear arsenals of Britain or France. Many in the Dialogue states view this as evidence of a double standard. (Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, pp. ix & 27)

network for the Mediterranean
Ensure that the Alliance harmonises its political and military strategy in the Mediterranean is closely harmonized.[153]
Institutionalise air and maritime SAR
Give the Initiative a parliamentary dimension by embracing the NATO Parliamentary Assembly's well-established Mediterranean Dialogue.[154]

A number of analysts have also advocated a PfP-type programme for the Mediterranean partners. Although one can hardly disagree with the general principle of partnership, it should be noted that the Mediterranean region possesses its own specific dynamics and security challenges. The European model of cooperative security, with all its conditionalities, can be proposed to, but not imposed upon the Mediterranean region. Although some elements of NATO's PfP initiative, which was quite successful in Central and Eastern Europe, may be applicable to the Mediterranean, the relative heterogeneity of the region would require specifically tailored solutions. Additionally, proponents of the PfM idea will have to resolve the issue of how to deal with different degrees of interest in military cooperation among the dialogue countries.[155]

It has been argued that cooperation between the armed forces of Mediterranean countries for non-traditional military purposes should now be promoted. Potential areas of cooperation would include natural disasters, control of sea-lanes, illicit traffic of all kinds, intelligence cooperation against terrorism, police cooperation against transnational crime[156], civil reconstruction and eventually crisis management and peace support operations.

Indeed, peacekeeping has frequently been mentioned as an area of possible cooperation between NATO and its Mediterranean partners.[157] However, it

---

[153] Efforts to enhance NATO's power projection capabilities could create new anxieties and fears among the dialogue countries and inhibit efforts to intensify cooperation with them. Thus, it is important that any changes in NATO's military strategy and command structure be carefully explained to these countries ahead of time to reduce the chances of misperception and misunderstanding. (Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. 100-101) According to Whitman, this is the central ambiguity in NATO's Mediterranean policy: for the non-NATO member state partners dialogue is in progress whilst other measures are being undertaken which seem directly threatening, such as the reconfiguration of NATO forces for the Mediterranean and NATO's non-proliferation strategy. (Whitman, p. 14)

[154] Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. xiii-xiv.

[155] Menotti, p. 5-6; Winrow, p. 185; Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. 52.

[156] See for instance, Alessadro Politi, *European Security: The New Transnational Risks*, Chaillot Papers 29, Paris, WEU-ISS, October 1997.

[157] Dr. Guido Lenzi, former director of (W)EU's Institute for Security Studies put forward the idea of a common European and Arab assistance to sub-Saharan countries, for conflict prevention and crisis management under the aegis of OAU. Indeed, in the last few years, we witnessed several conflicts (mainly civil wars in the Sub-Saharan Africa: in Mali, Niger, Chad, Guinea-Bissau, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Central African Republic, Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic

could be argued that the difficulties NATO has faced in acting as the military arm of the UN in the management of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia would pale in comparison to those NATO will be confronted with in case of peace support operations in the Mediterranean region. Moreover, its potential roles are bound to be further complicated by the continuing anti-NATO bias of some Arab countries.[158]

Finally, as already mentioned in chapter 1, issues of democratization create a difficult dilemma for NATO (and the EU). Should NATO promote democratization in the southern littoral? To what degree should the legitimacy of political elites be a concern of NATO? It is correctly pointed out that most of the individual rulers and elites in North Africa and in the Middle East tend to be more knowledgeable of, and more sympathetic to, the West than are their publics. These governing elites are concerned about a possible serious challenge to their authority from a mass movement, most probably inspired by radical Islamist forces. This fear, if not obsession, with societal security places obstacles in the path of democratization and creates a dilemma for governments in Europe and the U.S. NATO officials would not wish to be perceived as helping to shore up unpopular and illegitimate, but at the same time pro-Western, governments in the southern Mediterranean and in the Middle East. Yet, clearly NATO policy-makers would not be at ease if radical Islamist groups were swept to power in these states through free and open elections.[159]

In the November 2002 Prague summit, NATO decided, among other things, to upgrade the Mediterranean Dialogue. According to Alberto Bin,   "A substantial package of measures aimed at upgrading the political and practical dimensions of the Mediterranean Dialogue was endorsed by the NATO heads of state and government at their summit meeting in Prague in November 2002. Such measures include: the possibility of further exploiting the

---

Republic of Congo, etc). What is more, new worrisome tendencies are making themselves felt which will affect both sides of the Mediterranean: migration from sub-Saharan Africa of economic, political and environmental refugees. (Guido Lenzi, "Cooperative Security in the Mediterranean". Paper presented at a Conference on the "Future of NATO's Mediterranean Initiative", Rome, November 1997, p. 3)

Dr. Lenzi's proposal was about WEU-Arab cooperation, but perhaps it could be considered in the context of NATO's Mediterranean Initiative as well. Already three Mediterranean Dialogue countries –Egypt, Jordan, and Morocco—have experience in cooperation in peacekeeping operations through their participation in NATO-led IFOR/SFOR in Bosnia. NATO could provide additional training for peacekeeping operations to military units from Mediterranean partner countries or even create multinational European-Arab peacekeeping units. The establishment of a peacekeeping training centre could be contemplated, perhaps in the model of the recently established Balkan Peacekeeping Force. The peacekeeping force could under certain circumstances be deployed in other regions. Such cooperation would serve a dual target: (a) deal with Sub-Saharan conflicts through peacekeeping/peace-support operations; (b) increase confidence between northern and southern Mediterranean states.

[158] Maurizio Cremasco, "Fifty Years of NATO in the Mediterranean: A Historical Review" in Coccia, p. 65.

[159] Winrow, p. 73.

opportunities offered by the existing multi/bilateral (NATO+7/NATO+1) dialogue with a view to establishing a more regular and more effective consultation process; intensifying the political relationship through high-level contacts and the involvement of decision-makers; taking advantage of the EAPC framework, including by associating the Mediterranean partners with selected EAPC activities; and further developing practical cooperation in security matters of common concern through more focused activities, a tailored approach to co-operation, and a continuous process of consultation at the level of experts.

The latter applies especially to areas where NATO has a recognized comparative advantage and can add value, and where Dialogue partners have expressed interest. These activities might include: military education, training and doctrine to address basic interoperability requirements, with a view to making Mediterranean partners being prepared to participate in military exercises and related training activities; crisis management; participation in the Conference of National Armaments Directors (CNAD)'s Partnership Group on the NATO Codification System (NCS); Global Humanitarian Mine Action; military medicine including NBC-related preventive measures; defence reform and defence economics including best practice in the economic and civilian management of defence forces; terrorism; proliferation of WMD; border security, especially in connection with terrorism, the smuggling of small arms and light weapons and other illegal activities; civil emergency planning including disaster management; science and environment including activities in the fields of desertification, drought, management of water and other natural resources, and environmental pollution. Under certain circumstances, such enhanced practical cooperation could be achieved by taking advantage of the PfP framework, including by opening selected PfP activities to the Mediterranean partners of adapting those activities to the Dialogue's specific requirements."[160]

It is also suggested that "NATO's information effort should further engage the civil society in the Dialogue countries, with the twofold objective of providing a better understanding of NATO's policies (including the Mediterranean Dialogue) and of stimulating the growth of a "security community" in these countries. Parallel to that, the Dialogue's parliamentary dimension should be strengthened with a view to widening its scope and increasing its visibility, including by further involving public opinion in both NATO and the Mediterranean partner countries. In this regard, the role of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly (NPA) is paramount."[161]

Finally, this section will be concluded with four suggestions about military matters:

---

[160] *Upgrading the Mediterranean Dialogue Including an Inventory of Possible Areas of Cooperation*, November 2002 (www.nato.int/med-dial). Also, Bin, pp. 117-118.

[161] Bin, p. 118.

First, the alliance must continue to prepare itself for potential military setbacks while ensuring that its actions do not appear hostile. This dilemma will likely increase as NATO's planning for non-Article 5 operations matures.[162]

Second, NATO should be prepared to deal with the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, without, however, exaggerating this threat. NATO should avoid the impression that it is searching for a new "*raison d'etre*"; some might be tempted to conclude that the alliance was trying to replace the old Soviet menace with a new combination of Islamic fundamentalism and weapons of mass destruction. This would unnecessarily antagonize and isolate the Islamic or the Arab world and become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Third, offensive counter-proliferation action presents significant political and military problems and should be seen as an option of last resort. Defensive measures, such as theatre missile defences are more feasible both politically and militarily although they may be less efficient and have a higher economic cost.

Fourth, the threat of terrorism involving the use weapons of mass destruction constitutes a serious risk to Western states, including the United States, than a ballistic missiles attack by a rogue state. The best chance to prevent such incidents is to work with the states in the region (especially in the field of intelligence).

---

[162] It is argued that if in fact such missions do become a priority for the Alliance, the «procurement of systems by member states to facilitate regional intervention will be required, possibly giving the Alliance an offensive posture in the eyes of some Mediterranean countries». (Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, p. ix.)

C O N C L U S I O N S

It is the official position of NATO and the EU (as well as the WEU, until this organization's dissolution) that security and stability in Europe are closely linked to events in the Mediterranean basin. Europe's attention will increasingly be shifting towards the Mediterranean because, unfortunately, this is the faultline between the worlds of stability and instability.

The Mediterranean remains a fragmented and highly unstable region.[163] Problems of political, economic and social modernization[164] in the Mediterranean and the Middle East are becoming even more complex because of the continued existence of traditional security problems. The main issue of concern is the Israeli-Palestinian problem, but there are additional flashpoints such as Iraq.

Despite the alarmist predictions of some analysts, which are becoming fashionable because of events in the United States and subsequently in Afghanistan (and it is almost certain that there will be new phases in the "war against terrorism"), there is no direct military threat (in the form of "clash of civilizations") from the South towards the North, in the Mediterranean region. Terrorism, religious extremism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction constitute a threat as much to the southern Mediterranean regimes as to NATO and the West. Furthermore, most security challenges and problems in the Mediterranean are of a non-military nature and therefore cannot be dealt with by military means. Indeed, the multi-dimensional character of the security environment in the Mediterranean suggests a need for a comprehensive vision of security and a holistic problem-solving approach.[165]

Although the European Union seems to be the best actor to deal with these problems and ensure that they do not escalate into major crises requiring military action, NATO still has a potentially significant role to play. Although the EU may be more acceptable to some countries, especially when the

---

[163] The situation in the Mediterranean from a security perspective can best be described as "Cold peace". There is little prospect in the foreseeable future for the formation of a security regime let alone a security community in the Mediterranean. (Winrow, p. 116)

[164] The pressures for political and economic change in Mediterranean societies will be accommodated in different ways and with different degrees of success. Given the experience of Algeria and the lower-level crises ongoing elsewhere, from the Western Sahara to the Caucasus, however, it is reasonable to expect that the future Mediterranean security environment will be characterized by multiple instances of turmoil within societies, with the attendant risk of spillovers. (Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. 9)

[165] The best means of preventing many future crises in the Mediterranean is to address their root causes before the situation reaches the crisis stage. Because most of the problems are of a socio-economic nature, the European Union is the best actor to deal with these problems and ensure that they do not escalate into major crises requiring military action. The EU approach is quite efficient because it is comprehensive, while NATO, by nature, cannot deal with socio-economic problems.

problem is of a socio-economic nature, NATO is perceived as more credible when it comes to hard security issues. Therefore, the role of each organization has to be determined on a case-by-case basis.

As the most active and powerful military organization in the Mediterranean basin, NATO has the capacity to influence the patterns of relations across and around the basin.[166] The greatest challenge for Western institutions in the 21st century is to expand the world of stability. More specifically for NATO, the main task for the Alliance in various crisis regions (such as the Mediterranean, the Balkans, etc.) is to provide a framework of regional stability by "containing" military conflicts, thus creating a suitable environment for other organisations (such as the EU) to address economic, social and other problems and challenges.

Regarding the Alliance's Mediterranean Dialogue objectives and future prospects, the following remarks can be made:

1. Despite its ambition to become the guarantor of stability in regions around Europe, the Mediterranean is not yet very high in NATO's agenda. It is unclear whether this will change. There are opposing trends in this context. With NATO's recent round of enlargement, several new countries joined the Alliance. They are rather indifferent to security developments in the Mediterranean. Despite NATO's recent rapprochement with Russia, central and eastern European members are still be concerned about the Russian Bear. On the other hand, war against international terrorism and the threat of the proliferation of WMD are the highest American and (to a significant extent) NATO priorities.

2. There are several obstacles to cooperation in the Mediterranean. Perhaps the most important is the existence of the Arab-Israeli conflict which frustrates efforts to explore cooperative arrangements in CSBM and arms control fields. One should also mention that some of the rivalries and conflicts in the region are overlapping with out-of-region antagonisms and conflicts, complicating even more the efforts for conflict resolution and co-operation; And the lack of homogeneity between the North and the South and of shared values (like in the case of the CSCE/OSCE), where states despite their ideological differences had strong historical and cultural links. In addition, as already mentioned, there are great differences in the level of development, in the size of states and their military capabilities.

---

166 Blank, p. 95. The security environment around the Mediterranean basin and beyond will be strongly affected by, and will also affect, the process of NATO adaptation. (Lesser, p. 43) A changing NATO is one of the key influences on the strategic landscape and among the most important factors in the future of the Initiative. (Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. viii)

3. There is general agreement that because of the complexity of problems in the Mediterranean, no single initiative can address both the longer-term and proximate sources of instability in the region. A combination of institutions and policy tools can better produce most of the desired results.

4. The role that NATO officially claims for itself is auxiliary to that of the EU, as clearly pointed out by then Secretary-General Solana: "To help stabilize the Mediterranean region and build a peaceful, friendly, economically vibrant area is ... a major strategic objective for all Euro-Atlantic institutions. The EU must take the lead, yet NATO, too, can lend a helping hand".[167]

5. The Euro-American relationship is a major determinant of the entire political landscape in the Mediterranean region. A challenge facing NATO is the increasing divergence between American and European perceptions on the various international issues, particularly in the Mediterranean.[168]

6. U.S. attitudes (and policies vis-à-vis the region) will critically affect the future of the initiative. Especially after the war and occupation of Iraq by Coalition forces, the only short-term action that could transform the "heavy" atmosphere in the Middle East and change negative Arab attitudes towards the U.S. is an active and balanced American involvement in the resolution of the Palestinian problem (although initial signals after the publication of the "roadmap" are not terribly encouraging).

7. In the eyes of European and Mediterranean non-member states, NATO is perceived as militarily more powerful and efficient than the EU. However, the EU is perceived as less "invasive". In fact, U.S.'s non-membership to the EU may in some cases be a disadvantage, although in other cases may be an advantage.[169] Last, but certainly not least, Mediterranean partners perceive the EU not only as their main trading partner, but also as the only credible source of developmental aid (EU's "soft" power).

---

[167] Menotti, p. 9; A conclusion shared by RAND which acknowledges the central role of the EU in the longer-term stability of the Mediterranean. (Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. xii)

[168] Sidi Brahim Ould Mohamed, "NATO: Half a Century in the Mediterranean. A Mauritanian View" in Coccia, p. 109.

[169] The U.S. may be disliked or even hated for a number of reasons, but it is generally accepted that it remains the dominant security actor in this region and its military might commands respect in the Mediterranean and the Middle East than the perceived as lacking a single voice on issues of hard power EU. American membership and its *dominant position in* NATO are perceived as a positive factor by both Arabs and Israelis (for different reasons). On Arab views regarding NATO, see Aliboni, *Security Cooperation in the Mediterranean: Perceptions and Notions in Mediterranean and Arab Countries*, p. 9.

8. NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue, and more generally, its strategy towards the Mediterranean region should focus on areas of comparative advantage for the Alliance: hard security issues and defence-related cooperation. NATO's primary task in the Mediterranean will be to intervene during a regional crisis and, under certain circumstances, to deal with the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Its secondary activities would include, among other, cooperation initiatives such as the Mediterranean Dialogue.

9. It is argued that the real value of NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue as a confidence-building device is only likely to be realized in a true multilateral format.[170] With the current state of affairs in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, however, the prospects for multilateral activities (including Israel) are rather poor.[171]

10. The main, and perhaps more feasible, objective of the Mediterranean Dialogue is to improve NATO's image in the Mediterranean South and to inform the partners about its concerns and plans in order to clear misperceptions (on both sides). In this context, it will continue to be addressed only to the elites, not the general publics.

11. Even a marginal contribution to the reduction of the level of mistrust toward the "West" among the elites of those states[172] and –a much more difficult task—their societies, would be a significant achievement.[173] In this context, NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue is a useful tool of preventive diplomacy and a potentially important CBM.[174] However, it cannot evolve into a partnership.

12. U.S. policy vis-à-vis the Middle East and the Muslim world is a major factor. NATO, in the eyes and minds of the "Arab street" (but also of many officials) is a U.S.-led alliance (which, after all, is an accurate perception). Any American "mistake" almost automatically burdens NATO as well. Therefore, as long as there is no solution to the Palestinian problem, any public relations effort by NATO would almost *a priori* have limited effectiveness.

---

[170] Lesser, Green, Larrabee & Zanini, RAND, 2000, p. 20.

[171] So far, it was a rare exception when NATO (or the WEU) managed to organize a multilateral meeting or activity.

[172] A medium-term objective should be the "banalization" of practical, multi-dimensional cooperation with NATO among decision-makers in Mediterranean countries.

[173] Menotti, p. 8, 15 & 17.

[174] Winrow, p. 2.

13. The West's best chance to prevent NBC terrorism is to work closely with the states in the region (especially in the field of intelligence).

14. Western policies with regard to political reform, human rights, and civil military relations may severely constrain the scope for cooperation and may make dialogue on these issues difficult. On the other hand, can NATO (or the EU) remain indifferent about the autocratic record of Mediterranean partners' governments? Only very skillful policies would get NATO and the West out of this "lose-lose" situation.

15. There is a very lively debate under way concerning Europe's new defence identity. Whatever the final outcome of this long-term process, we cannot afford to "europeanize" Mediterranean security efforts. The U.S. has what it perceives as vital interests in the Mediterranean, and so does the EU. Therefore, both the EU and the U.S. must remain involved and work together to protect their interests and project stability. The critical question is "what are the modalities of cooperation and the division of labour". On the other hand, we cannot afford to "northernize" Mediterranean security. The active participation of countries in the southern rim of the Mediterranean Sea is absolutely necessary if cooperation efforts to succeed in the long term. Otherwise, the whole exercise will remain one-sided and futile.

16. The Dialogue should be expanded as soon as possible with the admission of Iraq (which should also be invited to join the European Union's Euro-Mediterranean Partnership).

17. Finally, attempting to answer the question "Is NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue useful or irrelevant" after September 11, 2001, one easily concludes that although one should have rather limited expectations, the Initiative, in its present format, is clearly useful as a confidence-building measure.

OOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOO

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

Aguirre, Marioano & Johnstone, Diana*. Militarisation et Conflits en Mediterranee.* GRIP. Bruxelles, 1989.

Aliboni, Roberto (ed.). *Southern European Security in the 1990s.* London, 1992.

Appleby, Scott. *Religious Fundamentalisms and Global Conflict.* Foreign Policy Association. New York, 1994.

Atkeson, Edward. *The Powder Keg. An Intelligence Officer's Guide to Military Forces in the Middle East 1996-2000.* Nova Publications. Virginia, 1996.

Ayubi, N. *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World.* London, 1991.

Blackwill, Robert & Stuermer, Michael (eds.). *Allies Divided: Transatlantic Policies for the Greater Middle East.* The MIT Press. Cambridge, MA, 1997.

Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (Vols. 1 & 2). New York, 1972.

Brzezinski, Zbigniew. *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives.* Basic Books. New York, 1997.

Buzan, Barry. *People, States and Fear. An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era.* New York, 1991.

Chandler, Robert. *Tomorrow's War, Today's Decisions.* AMCODA Press. Virginia, 1996.

Chubin, Shahram. *Iran's National Security Policy: Capabilities, Intentions and Impact.* Washington, 1994.

Clawson, Patrick (ed.). *Iran's Strategic Intentions and Capabilities.* McNair Paper No. 29.

Collinson, Sarah. *Europe and International Migration.* RIIA. London, 1993.

Cordesman, Anthony. *After the Storm: The Changing Military Balance in the Middle East.* Boulder, 1993.

Cordesman, Anthony. *Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Middle East.* London, 1991.

Couloumbis, Theodore & Dokos, Thanos (eds). *Arms Control and Security in the Middle East and the CIS Republics.* ELIAMEP, Athens, 1995.

Crouzatier, Jean-Marie. *Geopolitique de la Mediterranee.* Toulouse, 1988.

De Bauw, R., Frangakis Nikos & Papayannides, A.D. (eds.). *Energy Options in a Changing World: A European Perspective.* Sakkoulas/Kluwer, 1994.

De Dowall, David. *Europe and the Arabs, Discord or Symbiosis?* Royal Institute of International Affairs. London, 1992.

Dembinski, Matthias, Kelle, Alexander & Muller, Harald. *NATO and Nonproliferation: A Critical Appraisal.* PRIF Reports No.33, April 1994.

Dumoulin, Andre. *Risques et Menaces Dans un Monde en Mutation.* GRIP. Brussels, 1993.

Esposito, John. *Islam and Politics.* New York, 1991.

Esposito, John. *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?* New York, 1992.

Esposito, John, *Islam: the Straight Path.* Oxford, 1994.

Esposito, John (ed.). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World.* Oxford, 1995.

Fox, Robert. *The Inner Sea. The Mediterranean and its People.* London, 1991.

Fuller, Graham. *The Center of the Universe. The Geopolitics of Iran.* Boulder, 1991.

Fuller, Graham & Lesser, Ian. *A Sense of Siege: The Geopolitics of Islam and the West.* Westview Press, Boulder, 1995.

Gause, F. Gregory III. *Oil Monarchies. Domestic and Security Challenges in the Arab Gulf States.* New York, 1994.

Gazit, Shlomo (ed.). *The Middle East Military Balance 2000-2001.* Tel-Aviv, 2001.

Greenwood, Ted. *US and NATO Force Structure and Military Operations in the Mediterranean.* McNair Paper Fourteen. National Defense University. Washington DC, 1993.

Hamilton, Kimberly (ed.). *Migration and the New Europe.* The Center for Strategic and International Studies. Washington D.C., 1994.

Holmes, John (ed.). *Maelstrom: The United States, Southern Europe and the Challenges of the Mediterranean.* Cambridge, Mass., 1995.

Hunter, Shireen. *The Future of Islam and the West: Clash of Civilizations or Peaceful Coexistence*? Praeger Publishers. Westport, Connecticut, 1998.

Huntington, Samuel. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. Simon & Schuster. New York, 1996.

IISS, *New Dimensions in International Security*. Adelphi Papers 265-266. London, 1992.

Inbar, Efraim & Sandler, Shmuel. *The Changing Israeli Strategic Equation: Toward a Security Regime*. BESA, Ramat Gun, 1995.

Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis. *Southern Region Workshop on TMD, Counter-Proliferation Planning and Security Collaboration in the New Era.* November 1995.

Jane's Sentinel: Eastern Mediterranean. London, 2001.

Kahan, Jerome. *Nuclear Threats From Small States.* Strategic Studies Institute. U.S. Army War College. Carlisle Barracks, PA, 1994.

Kahan, Jerome. *Regional Deterrence Strategies for New Proliferation Threats.* Strategic Forum no. 70. INSS. National Defense University, April 1996.

Kemp, Geoffrey & Harkavy, Robert. *Strategic Geography and the Changing Middle East*. Brookings Institution Press. Washington D.C., 1997.

Kerdun, Azzouz. *La Securite en Mediterranee*. Paris, 1995.

Khader, Bichara (ed.). *L'Europe et la Mediterranee. Geopolitique de la proximite*. Paris, 1994.

Khader, Bichara. *L'Europe Face aux Nouveaux Risques: Le Defi du Maghreb*. Bruxelles, 1993.

Korany, Bahgat, Noble, Paul & Brynen, Rex (eds.). *The Many Faces of National Security in the Arab World*. New York, 1993.

Kovalski, Nicolai. *The Mediterranean Process: Dimensions of the 90s*. Occasional Paper No.8, International Institute for Peace, Vienna, 1995.

Kushner, Harvey (ed.). *The Future of Terrorism: Violence in the New Millennium.* Sage Publications. London, 1998.

Landau, Jacob. *The Politics of Pan-Islam*. Oxford, 1994.

Larrabee, S., Green, J., Lesser, I. & Zanini, M. *NATO's Mediterranean Initiative: Policy Issues and Dilemmas.* RAND. Santa Monica, September 1997.

Larrabee, S. & Thorson, C. *Mediterranean Security: New Issues and Challenges.* RAND. Santa Monica, April 1996.

Latter, Richard. *Mediterranean Security.* Wilton Park Papers 48. London, 1991.

Latter, Richard. *The Mediterranean Security Crisis.* Wilton Park Paper 103, London, July 1995.

Lesser, Ian, Green, Jerrold, Larrabee, Stephen, Zanini, Michele. *The Future of NATO's Mediterranean Initiative. Evolution and Next Steps.* RAND Corporation, Santa Monica 2000.

Lesser, Ian. *Mediterranean Security: New Perspectives and Implications for U.S. Foreign Policy.* RAND. Santa Monica, 1992.

Lesser, Ian. *Southern Region Perspectives on Security and International Affairs.* RAND. Santa Monica, 1992.

Lesser, Ian & Tellis, Ashley. *Strategic Exposure: Proliferation Around the Mediterranean.* RAND. Santa Monica, 1996.

Lewis, William & Johnson, Stuart (eds.). *Weapons of Mass Destruction: New Perspectives on Counterproliferation.* INNS. National Defense University. Washington, D.C., 1995.

Ludlow, Peter (ed.). *Europe and the Mediterranean.* London, 1994.

Nye, Joseph & Smith, Roger (eds.). *After the Storm: Lessons from the Gulf War.* Lanham, 1992.

O'Brien, Mike (ed.). *Security Issues in the Mediterranean Basin.* Conference Proceedings, Institute for National Strategic Studies, Washington, 1992.

Proliferation: Threat and Response. Office of the Secretary of Defense, November 2000.

Purver, Ron. *Chemical and Biological Terrorism. The Threat According to the Open Literature.* June 1995.

RAMSES 2001. *Synthese annuelle de l' actualite mondiale.* IFRI. Paris, 2001.

Ravenel, Bernard. *Mediterranee: Le Nord contre le Sud?* Paris, 1990.

Rebolledo, Vicente Garrido. *NATO and the Counterproliferation: A New Role for the Alliance.* NATO. Individual Research Fellowship 1995-1997. Madrid, June 1997.

Rosenau, James. *Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity.* New York, 1990.

Schneider, Barry. *Radical Responses to Radical Regimes: Evaluating Preemptive Counter-Proliferation.* McNair Paper 41, May 1995.

Spencer, Claire. *The Maghreb in the 1990s.* Adelphi Papers No. 274, IISS. London, 1993.

The Military Balance 2001-2002. IISS. London, 2002.

Yergin, Daniel. *The Prize. The Epic Quest for Oil, Money & Power.* New York, 1991.

Winrow, Gareth. *The Role of NATO's Mediterranean Initiative*, Garland Publishing, Inc. New York and London, 2000.

ARTICLES

Anderson, Lisa. "Peace and Democracy in the Middle East: The Constraints of Soft Budgets". *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.49, No.1, Summer 1995.

Asmus, R., Larrabee, S., Lesser, I. "Mediterranean Security: New Challenges, New Tasks". *NATO Review*, No. 3, May 1996.

Ben Yahia, Habib. "Security and Stability in the Mediterranean: Regional and International Changes". *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Winter 1993.

Benson, Sumner. "Middle Eastern Missiles, NATO Missile Defences and Mediterranean Security". *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 4, Fall 1997.

Bin, Alberto. "Strengthening Cooperation in the Mediterranean: The Contribution of the Atlantic Alliance". Presentation at the 1999 International Halki Seminars, organised by the Hellenic's Foundation for European & Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP).

Bin, Alberto. "NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue: A Post-Prague Perspective", *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Summer 2002.

Binnendjik, Hans. "Next, NATO Needs to Give Itself a Southern Strategy". *International Herald Tribune*, 17 March 1998.

Biscop, Sven. "Network or Labyrinth? The Challenge of Co-ordinating Western Security Dialogues with the Mediterranean". *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 7, No.1, Spring, 2002.

Blunden, Margaret. "Insecurity in Europe's Southern Flank". *SURVIVAL*, Summer 1994.

Bouchat IV, Clarence. "The North-South Divide Within Mediterranean Countries". *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Fall 1994.

Broomfield, William. "Unresolved Issues in the Eastern Mediterranean". *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Summer 1991.

Buzan, Barry. "New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century". *International Affairs*, 1991.

Caligaris, Luigi. "Mediterranean Strategic Options". *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Spring 1990.

Calleya, Stephen. "Post-Cold War Regional Dynamics in the Mediterranean Area". *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 3, Summer 1996.

Carter, Ashton & Omand, David. "Countering the Proliferation Risks: Adapting the Alliance to the New Security Environment". *NATO Review*, September 1996.

Chubin, Shahram & Green, Jerold, *NATO's New Strategic Concept and Peripheral Contingencies: The Middle East*, RAND Corporation and the Geneva Center Security Policy, Conference proceedings, 1999.

Connelly, Matthew & Kennedy, Paul. "Must It Be the Rest Against the West?". *The Atlantic Monthly*, December 1994.

de Santis, Nicola. "The Future of NATO's Mediterranean Initiative". *NATO Review*, Spring 1998.

Dokos, Thanos, "The Probability of the Deliberate Use of Nuclear Weapons in the Middle East", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs,* Spring 1989.

Drozdiak, William. "Is NATO's Southern Flank Exposed?". *International Herald Tribune*, 20 May 1997.

Entelis, John. "Political Islam in Algeria: The Nonviolent Dimension". *Current History*, January 1995.

Fenech, Dominic, "The Relevance of European Security Structures to the Mediterranean (and Vice Versa)". *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol.2, No.1.

Ghebali, Victor-Yves. "Toward a Mediterranean Helsinki-Type Process", *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Winter 1993.

Ghorbal, Ashraf. "Economic Security in the Mediterranean Region". *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Spring 1991.

Hovsepian, Nubar. "Competing Identities in the Arab World". *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.49, No.1, Summer 1995.

Huntington, Samuel. "The Clash of Civilizations?". *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993.

Joseph, Robert. "Proliferation, Counter-Proliferation and NATO". *SURVIVAL*, Spring 1996.

Joseph, Robert. "Regional Implications of NBC Proliferation". *Joint Force Quarterly*, Autumn 1995.

Kissinger, Henry. "We Live in an Age of Transition", *Daedalus*, Summer 1995.

Krause, Joachim. "Proliferation Risks and their Strategic Relevance: What Role for NATO?". *SURVIVAL*, Summer 1995.

Lempert, Robert & Farnsworth, Gwen. "The Mediterranean Environment: Prospects for Cooperation to Solve the Problems of the 1990s". *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Fall 1994.

Martin, David. "Towards an Alliance Framework for Extended Air Defence/Theatre missile Defence". *NATO Review*, No. 3, May 1996.

Munera Gabriel & Zadra, Roberto. "L'evolution du projet CSCM dans le cadre du processus de paix au Moyen-Orient". *Memento GRIP 1994-1995.*

Murphy, Caryle. "The Business of Political Change in Egypt". *Current History*, January 1995.

Pranger, Robert. "Cultural Conflict and Mediterranean Security". *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Spring 1991.

Ruhle, Michael. "View from NATO. NATO and the Coming Proliferation Threat". *Comparative Strategy*, 1994.

Salame, Ghassan. "Islam and the West". *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1993.

Schulte, Gregory. "Responding to Proliferation: NATO's Role". *NATO Review* No. 4, July 1995.

Sorokin, Konstantin. "Moscow's Security Policy in the Mediterranean" *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Spring 1993

Tal, Lawrence. "Dealing with Radical Islam: The Case of Jordan". *SURVIVAL*, Autumn 1995.

Turner, Stanfield. "The Future of the U.S. Navy in the Mediterranean". *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Winter 1992.

Williams, Phil & Black, Stephen. "Transnational Threats: Drug Trafficking and Weapons Proliferation". *Contemporary Security Policy*, April 1994.

Winrow, Gareth. "A Threat from the South? NATO and the Mediterranean". *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Summer 1996.